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ALEXANDER ADAM, D.D.

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1637

LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED
SCOTSMEN,
FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME,
ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER,
AND FORMING A COMPLETE
SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,
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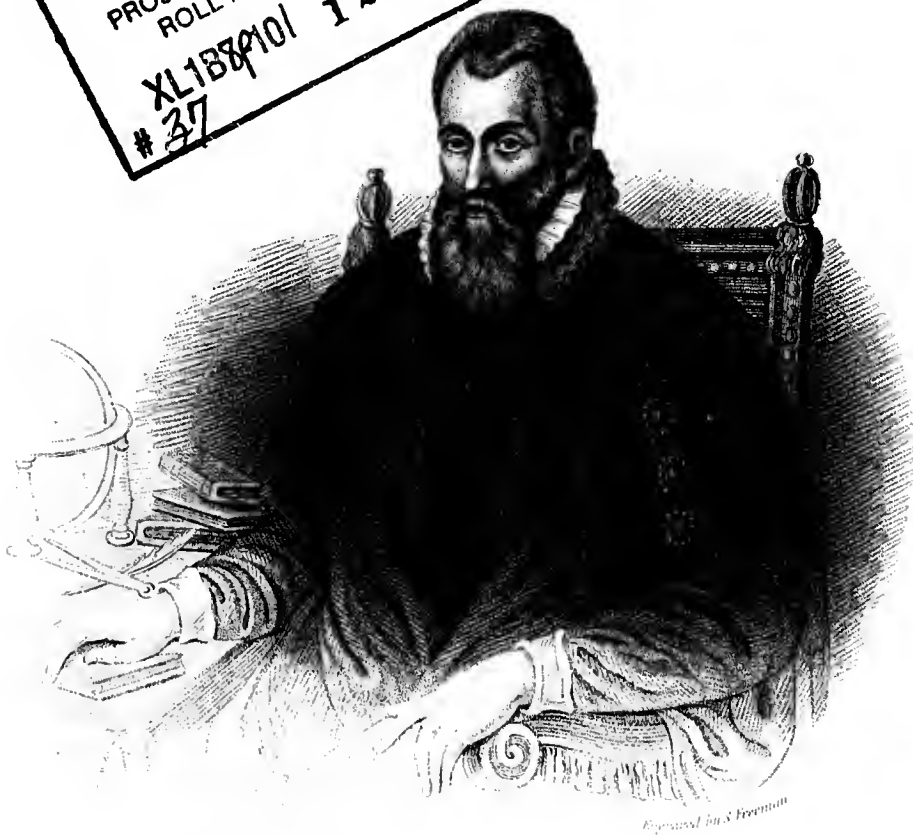
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JOHN KNOX.

FROM THE ORIGINALS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE
HON. THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

BY THE REV. JOHN GIBSON.



GEORGE WASHINGTON

1732-1799



CARDINAL BEAUFORT

ARCHBISHOP OF GLAUGOW &c &c

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HOLYROOD HOUSE



Painted by Sir Henry Raeburn

Engraved by J. Rogers

JOSEPH BLACK ESQ.

Published by Blackie & Son Glasgow



AN ENGRAVING OF JAMES MACDONALD, ESQ. A.D. 1810.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT BY SIR HENRY ROBINSON, BART.

BY SIR HENRY ROBINSON, BART.

Printed by Blackie & Son, Glasgow.



JAMES WATT

L.L.D. F.R.S.E.

Published by Blackie & Son, Glasgow.

native country. His Birks of Invermay long survived in the recollection of his associates, as a musical gem of the first lustre. The following anecdote, communicated by his biographer Sommers, at once proves his vocal powers and reflects a light upon his character. "In one of his convivial frolics, he laid a wager with some of his associates that, if they would furnish him with a certain number of printed ballads, (no matter what kind), he would undertake to dispose of them as a street singer in the course of two hours. The bet was laid, and next evening, being in the month of November, a large bundle of ballads were procured for him. He wrapped himself in a shabby great-coat, put on an old scratch wig, and in this disguised form commenced his adventure at the weigh-house, head of the West Bow. In his going down the Lawnmarket and High Street, he had the address to collect great multitudes around him, while he amused them with a variety of favourite Scottish songs, by no means such as he had ballads for, and gained the wager by disposing of the whole collection. He waited on his companions by eight o'clock that evening, and spent with them in mirthful glee, the produce of his street adventure."

Fergusson's disposition led him into many frolics; of which the following instances are recounted. His landlord happened to be a man very much given to intemperance, at the same time that he aspired to all the honours of a saint. One night, he attempted to perform family worship, in a state of complete intoxication, when, to his inconceivable horror, every sentence of his prayer was echoed by some unseen being at no great distance. Confounded with drunken terror, he ordered his family to retire, and *tak awa the buiks*. It was Fergusson who thus alarmed him from a neighbouring closet. Afterwards, the poor man gave his family an impressive lecture on the necessity of their improving their ways, as he felt certain that something serious was about to befall them. He even unbosomed his own conscience to the waggish cause of all his terrors, and received, with marks of extreme contrition, the absolution which Fergusson administered to him in consideration of his repentance. On another occasion, Fergusson went, with some companions, to the door of a similar zealot, and began to whine forth a psalm in burlesque of the hypocritical habits (as he considered them) of those within. With even less justifiable thoughtlessness, he once threw into the open window of a Glassite meeting-house, a paper, on which he had inscribed some lines in imitation of the manner in which they were pleased to perform their devotions. A more innocent frolic was as follows: having procured a sailor's dress, he dressed himself in it, assumed a huge stick, and, sallying out, paid a round of visits to his acquaintances. He was so effectually disguised that few or none of them knew him; and by throwing forth hints of some of their former indiscretions, he so much surprised them, that they imputed his knowledge to divination. By this means, he procured from many of them such a fund of information, as enabled him to give them a greater surprise when he resumed the genuine character of Robby Fergusson. For in the sailor's habit he informed them of many frailties and failings, which they imagined it impossible for any one of his appearance to know; and in the habit of Robby Fergusson, he divulged many things which they believed none but the ragged sailor was acquainted with. Fergusson's power of mimicry were, indeed, admirable, and he displayed a considerable turn for acting in general. Towards the end of his life, he was the very life and soul of a particular spouting club to which he attached himself.

In the circle of his acquaintance, though it extended through nearly all ranks of society, he had few more respectable friends than Mr Woods, a distinguished player long established in Edinburgh. Woods was a man of wit, taste, and good sense, to which good qualities he added a prudence of conduct,

in which it is to be wished that the poet had uniformly imitated him. Through the influence of Mr Woods, and in consideration, perhaps, of occasional poetical services, he enjoyed a free admission to the theatre, of which he took not unfrequent advantage. To quote a memorandum which has been supplied to us on this subject—"He always sat in the central box, denominated the Shakspeare box; and his mode of expressing approbation in comic performances was very singular. Instead of clapping his hands, or using any exclamations, he used to show how much he was delighted by raising his right hand clenched above his head, and bringing it down emphatically on the front of the box, with a sweeping blow."

His brother, Henry, who was eight years older than himself, had before this period been obliged by some youthful indiscretions to go to sea. Henry was a youth of considerable acquirements and ingenuity, and, in particular, had an extraordinary taste for fencing. Some letters are extant, which the young sailor addressed to his mother and brother, and they certainly display powers of mind and habits of reflection, which, if discovered on ship-board, must have astonished his superiors. Apparently quite tired of the hopeless drudgery of his office, and perhaps impelled by more pressing considerations, Robert Fergusson at one time contemplated the course of life now pursued by his brother, the wild dangers of which might have some charm to a poet's breast. He thus humorously alludes to his design in an epigram:

Fortune and Bob, e'er since his birth,
Could never yet agree;
She fairly kicked him from the earth,
To try his fate at sea.

He was not destined, however, to execute this resolution.

In 1773, Fergusson's poems were collected from the Weekly Magazine into one volume; but it does not appear that the poet reaped any pecuniary benefit from the publication. It is probable, indeed, that this admired son of genius never realised a single shilling by his writings.

For a brief number of years, Fergusson led the aimless life which we have endeavoured to describe, obtaining the means of a scanty subsistence by a servile and unworthy drudgery, and cheering his leisure moments with mingled intellectual exertion and convivial dissipation. To many persons he was recommended by his fascinating conversation, his modesty, and his gentle and affectionate character. Of these, however, with but one exception, there were none who either felt called upon or had it in their power, to advance his worldly fortunes. That exception was a Mr Burnet, who, becoming much attached to the poet at Edinburgh, was afterwards enabled to send him a draught for a hundred pounds from India, with an invitation to come thither, in order to experience still more solid and lasting proofs of his friendship. Even of this single ray of kindness from his fellow men, the poor poet was destined to reap no advantage, being dead before the money and the invitation arrived. The unhappy youth continued, so long as his mind was sensible of any thing, to feel that, with powers which elevated him above most of his fellows, and were likely to make him be remembered when all of them were forgotten, he yet ate every day a bitterer and a scantier meal, and moiled on and on in hopeless poverty, at once the instrument and the victim of their pleasures.

Early in the year 1774, when his frame was peculiarly exposed by the effects of a certain medicine to cold, he was induced to accompany some gentlemen, who were interested in an election business, to one of the eastern counties of Scotland. It is no uncommon thing for cold, contracted under such circum-

stances, to produce mental derangement; and such was the melancholy destiny of Fergusson! Being involved in the riotous scenes of the election, he easily caught the baneful distemper, the effects of which were quite as much mental as physical. While in this disordered state, he happened one day to wander into the church-yard, where he was soon after accosted by the venerable John Brown, author of many well known works in divinity, and who exercised the humble but respectable functions of a dissenting clergyman in this town. After a few trivial remarks had passed between them, Mr Brown was led by the nature of the scene to advert to the mortality of man, observing that, in a short time, they would soon be laid in the dust, and that therefore it was wise to prepare for eternity. To Mr Brown, the conversation seemed the most casual and unimportant that could well be. But such were not its effects. In the present state of the poet's mind, his early religious impressions were fast reviving, and, while the penalties of folly wrung his nerves, his thoughts wandered back over his mispent and unprosperous life. Upon a mind so prepared, the accidental remarks of the divine (who did not even know who he was) sunk as deep as if they had been imprinted in characters of fire. He returned home, an altered and despairing man.

One of his intimate friends, who met him in March, 1774, a short time after this event, found him somewhat tranquillized, but still in a very precarious state. The poor bard gave an account of the excesses which had lately produced such dreadful effects, and spoke with terror of what would be unavoidable in the event of a relapse—confinement in the common asylum for insane persons. He also introduced the subject of religion, and conversed with much earnestness on some of its fundamental doctrines. "Upon a particular occasion, which he specified, he said, a Mr Ferrier, at, or near St Andrews, had alarmed and rather displeased him, by maintaining, what are usually denominated the orthodox tenets of our Scottish creeds: and Fergusson appeared to differ, in a very considerable degree, from the commonly received notions on these subjects. He did not seem to be satisfied of the necessity of the fall of man, and of a mediatorial sacrifice for human iniquity; and he questioned, with considerable boldness, the consistency of such doctrines with the attributes of divine wisdom and goodness. At the same time, however, he confessed the imperfect nature of the human intellect, and the unfathomable depth of all such inquiries. This is the only gleam of infidelity which ever seems to have diminished the fearful gloom of superstitious terror: no consoling rays of genuine religion charmed his bosom; no sounds of peace gladdened his heart, and enabled him to sustain, with fortitude and calmness, the sorrows which oppressed him. He anticipated 'the last peal of the thunder of heaven,' as the voice of eternal vengeance speaking in wrath, and consigning him to irremediable perdition."¹

After having partially recovered from his disorder, his mind is said to have received another shock from the following incident:—

"In the room adjoining to that in which he slept, was a starling, which being seized one night by a cat that had found its way down the chimney, awakened Mr Fergusson by the most alarming screams. Having learned the cause of the alarm, he began seriously to reflect how often he, an accountable and immortal being, had in the hour of intemperance, set death at defiance, though it was thus terrible, in reality, to an unaccountable and sinless creature. This brought to his recollection, the conversation of the clergyman, which, aided by the solemnity of midnight, wrought his mind up to a pitch of remorse that almost bordered on frantic despair. Sleep now forsook his eyelids; and he rose in the morning, not as he had formerly done, to mix again with the social and the gay

¹ Peterkin's Life of Fergusson, prefixed to London edition of his poems, 1807.

but to be a recluse from society, and to allow the remembrance of his past follies to prey upon his vitals. All his vivacity now forsook him; those lips which were formed to give delight, were closed as by the hand of death, and on his countenance sathorror plumed!¹

It is probably to this period that we are to refer two anecdotes, which have been related as giving the first proofs of a decided craze in his understanding. Mr Tennant, in an article which has been already quoted, says:—"It is difficult, even in sane persons, to determine where wit ends, and temporary reeling of the imagination begins; and, in the case of Fergusson, whose conceptions were ever so vivid, and whose wit was so fantastical and irregular, it was difficult for his friends to discriminate between his wit and his madness—to set a boundary line between those of his days that were but frolicsome and funny, and those that were desperately and invariably delirious. The first occurrence that startled his comrades, and put them in alarm for the safety of his understanding, took place one day in the High Street of Edinburgh, when Mr B——, one of his friends, (who, I believe, is still alive,) was standing engaged in conversation with a knot of acquaintances. Fergusson came running up, apparently in a state of high perturbation; and, accosting them familiarly, as he was wont, acquainted them, that, confused and perturbed as he was, it was a marvel that they saw him alive that day at all. On questioning him, with a desire that he should explain himself, he informed them, that on the night before he had met with some Irish students in the street, with whom he had an altercation that led to a quarrel; that they scuffled and buffeted each other furiously; that the combat deepened to deadly ferocity, when one of them, the bloodiest homicide of the troop, at last drew out a cutlass, with which he smote off his head at one blow; that his head ran down the strand trembling and streaming blood for many paces; that, had it not been for his presence of mind, he must infallibly have been a dead man; but that, running instantly after the head, decapitated as he was, he snatched it up, and replaced it so nicely on its former position, that the parts coalesced, and no man could discover any vestiges of decapitation. This story was told with such wild looks and extravagant gesticulation, as impressed the hearers with the suspicion that his mind had shifted from its wonted 'form and pressure;' a suspicion that was afterwards fully confirmed by other more decided and unfortunate indications."

The other anecdote, which indicates a more advanced stage of insanity, is as follows:—Mr Woods, of the theatre royal, one day met him at the bottom of St Anne Street, under the North Bridge, (a street which does not now exist,) and found him in a very disordered state. "I have just," said Fergusson, in a confidential tone, "made a most important discovery." On Mr Woods' inquiring what it was, he answered, "I have found out one of the reprobates who crucified our Saviour; and in order to bring him to proper punishment, I am going to lodge an information against him with Lord Kames." He then walked off towards the residence of that distinguished philosopher and judge.

Even from this second shock, his reason was beginning to recover, when all was thrown into ten-fold disorder by a fall which he met with, one evening in descending a stair. Having cut his head severely, he lost a great deal of blood, and was carried home to his mother's house in a state of delirium, and totally insensible of his deplorable condition. His reason seemed to be now in a great measure destroyed. He passed nights and days in total abstinence from food, sometimes muttering dolefully to himself, and at other times so outrageous that it required the strength of several men to keep him in his bed. Occasionally, he sang his favourite melodies, but in a style of pathos and tenderness such

¹ Life by Mr Inverarity, in Gleig's Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

as he had never before reached. In particular, he chaunted "the Birks of Invermay," with such exquisite melody, that those who heard his notes could never forget the sound. While in this state, probably anticipating that miserable catastrophe which soon after happened, he burned all his manuscripts, remarking, when the task was done, "I am satisfied—I feel some consolation in never having written any thing against religion." Like Collins, he now used but one book, but he probably felt, with that unfortunate bard, "that it was the best." It is needless to mention, that this sole companion of his moody hours was the bible.

The circumstances of his widowed mother were not unfortunately of such a kind, as to enable her to keep her son, and procure for him the attendance necessary for his malady, in her own house. She was, therefore, compelled to make arrangements for consigning him to a very wretched public asylum, which, before the erection of an elegant building at Morningside, was the only place in connexion with the Scottish capital, where such accommodations could be obtained. This house was situated within a gloomy nook of the old city wall, with another large building closing it up in front, as if it had been thought necessary to select for the insane, a scene as sombre and wretched as their own mental condition. To this horrid mansion it was found necessary to convey Fergusson by a kind of stratagem, for he was too well aware of what was contemplated, and too much alive to the horrors of the place, to have either gone willingly himself, or to have been conveyed thither without some indecent exposure. Two friends, therefore, were instructed to pay him a visit about night-fall, as if for the purpose of inquiring after his welfare. He met them with easy confidence, and after some conversation, in which he took part like a sane man, they proposed that he should accompany them on a visit to a friend at another part of the town. To this he cheerfully consented, and was accordingly placed in a sedan which they had in readiness at the bottom of the stair. The unhappy youth then permitted himself to be conveyed peaceably along the streets, till he arrived at the place which he had all along feared would be his final abode. The chair was conveyed into the hall, and, it was only when Fergusson stepped out, that he perceived the deception which had been practised upon him. One wild halloo—the heart-burst of despair—broke from him, and was immediately echoed from the tenants of the surrounding cells. Thrilled with horror, his friends departed, and left the wretched Fergusson to his fate.

"During the first night of his confinement," says Mr Sommers, "he slept none; and when the keeper visited him in the morning, he found him walking along the stone floor of his cell, with his arms folded, and in sullen sadness, uttering not a word. After some minutes' silence, he clapped his right hand on his forehead, and complained much of pain. He asked the keeper, who brought him there? He answered, 'friends.'—'Yes, friends, indeed,' replied Robert, 'they think I am too wicked to live, but you will soon see me *a burning and a shining light*.'—'You have been so already,' observed the keeper, alluding to his poems. 'You mistake me,' said the poet: 'I mean, you shall see and hear of me as a bright minister of the gospel.'"

Fergusson continued about two months to occupy a cell in this gloomy mansion. Occasionally, when the comparative tranquillity of his mind permitted it, his friends were allowed to visit him. A few days before his dissolution, his mother and sister found him lying on his straw bed, calm and collected. The evening was chill and damp: he requested his mother to gather the bed-clothes about him, and sit on his feet, for he said, they were so very cold, as to be almost insensible to the touch. She did so, and his sister took her seat by the bed-side. He then looked wistfully in the face of his affectionate parent, and said, "Oh, mother, this is kind, indeed." Then addressing his sister, he said, "might you

not come frequently, and sit beside me ; you cannot imagine how comfortable it would be ; you might fetch your seam, and sew beside me." To this, no answer was returned : an interval of silence was filled up by sobs and tears. " What ails ye ?" inquired the dying poet ; " wherefore sorrow for me, sirs ? I am very well cared for here—I do assure you, I want for nothing—but it is cold—it is very cold. You know, I told you, it would come to this at last—yes, I told you so. Oh, do not go yet, mother—I hope to be soon—oh, do not go yet—do not leave me !" The keeper, however, whispered that it was time to depart, and this was the last time that Fergusson saw these beloved relatives.

Mr Sommers thus describes his last interview with the poet, which took place in company with Dr John Aitken, another friend of the unfortunate maniac. " We got immediate access to the cell, and found Robert lying with his clothes on, stretched upon a bed of loose uncovered straw. The moment he heard my voice, he arose, got me in his arms, and wept. The doctor felt his pulse, and declared it to be favourable. I asked the keeper to allow him to accompany us into an adjoining back-court, by way of taking the air. He consented. Robert took hold of me by the arm, placing me on his right, and the doctor on his left, and in this form we walked backward and forward along the court, conversing for nearly an hour ; in the course of which, many questions were asked both by the doctor and myself, to which he returned most satisfactory answers ; but he seemed very anxious to obtain his liberty. Having passed two hours with him on this visit, we found it necessary to take our leave, the doctor assuring him that he would soon be restored to his friends, and that I would visit him again in a day or two. He calmly and without a murmur walked with us to the cell ; and, upon parting, reminded the doctor of his promise to get him soon at liberty, and of mine to see him next day. Neither of us, however, had an opportunity of accomplishing our promise ; for in a few days thereafter I received an intimation from the keeper that Robert Fergusson had breathed his last."

Before this period, Mrs Fergusson had been enabled by a remittance from her son Henry, to make some preparations for receiving the poor maniac back into her own house, where superior accommodations, and the tenderness of a mother's and a sister's love, might have been expected to produce some favourable effect. But it came too late : misery had already secured her victim. " In the solitude of his cell," says Mr Peterkin, " amid the terrors of the night, ' without a hand to help or an eye to pity,' the poet expired. His dying couch was a mat of straw ; the last sounds that pealed upon his ear were the howlings of insanity. No tongue whispered peace ; and even a consoling tear of sympathy mingled not with those of contrition and hope, which, in charity, I trust, illumined his closing eye."

Robert Fergusson died on the 16th of October, 1774, aged one day less than twenty-four years. His body was interred in the Canongate church-yard, where his grave remained quite undistinguished, until his successor, and (as he was pleased to acknowledge), his imitator, Robert Burns, appeared in Edinburgh. When Burns came to the grave of Fergusson, he uncovered his head, and, with his characteristic enthusiasm, kneeling down, embraced the venerated clay. He afterwards obtained permission from the magistrates to erect a monument to Fergusson, which he inscribed with the following stanza :—

No sculptured marble here, nor pompous lay,
 " No storied urn, nor animated bust ;"
 This simple stone directs pale Scotia's way,
 To pour her sorrows o'er her poet's dust.

On the reverse of the monument, which is literally a "simple stone," is the following honourable inscription: "By special grant of the managers, to Robert Burns, who erected this stone, this burial-place is ever to remain sacred to the memory of Robert Fergusson." In more than one of his effusions, in prose and poetry, the Ayrshire poet has bewailed the fate of Fergusson; but perhaps the following little elegy, which he inscribed on a copy of the works of that poet, which he presented to a young lady (March 19, 1787), are less generally known than the rest:

Curse on ungrateful man that can be pleased,
And yet can starve the author of his pleasure!
Oh thou, my elder brother in misfortune,
By far my elder brother in the muses,
With tears I pity thy unhappy fate!
Why is the bard unfitted for the world,
Yet has so keen a relish of its pleasures?

Whatever may be thought of the philosophy of this stanza, its feeling has an irresistible appeal.

The external appearance of Fergusson, so far as it is left undelineated in the sketch already quoted, was as follows:³ His countenance was somewhat effeminate, but redeemed by the animation imparted to it by his large black eyes. Mingled with the penetrative glance of an acute and active mind, was that modesty which gives to superior intellect its greatest charm. Unfortunately there is no authentic portrait in existence, though it may be worth while to mention that his grand-niece, Miss Inverarity, of Covent Garden theatre, bears so strong a resemblance to him, as to have struck the mind of an individual who remembered the appearance of Fergusson, and who had learned neither the name of the young lady nor her relation to the poet. Fergusson's manners were always accommodated to the moment: he was gay, serious, set the table in a roar, charmed with his powers of song, or bore with becoming dignity his part in learned or philosophical disquisition. "In short he had united in him," says Mr Alexander Campbell, "the sprightliness and innocence of a child, with the knowledge of a profound and judicious thinker."—"Gentleness and humanity of disposition," says Dr Irving, "he possessed in an eminent degree. The impulse of benevolence frequently led him to bestow his last farthing on those who solicited his charity. His surviving relations retain a pleasing remembrance of his dutiful behaviour towards his parents; and the tender regard with which his memory is still cherished by his numerous acquaintance fully demonstrates his value as a friend." It may be added, that, to this day, there prevails but one universal impression in favour of Fergusson. Cut off in the greenest of his days, he still lives in the feeling of the world, exactly what he really was in life, a gentle and youthful being; of whom no one could think any ill, and who was the friend and brother of every body.

FINLAYSON, JAMES, D.D. F.R.S.E., professor of logic and metaphysics in the university of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of the high church of that city, was born on the 15th of February, 1758, at Nether Cambusnie, in the parish of Dumblane, a small farm which his ancestors had occupied for several centuries. His parents, who were persons of much worth and in comfortable circumstances, had the satisfaction of witnessing the eminence to which their son arrived, and of having their old age cheered by his dutiful attentions; but they had likewise the misfortune to survive his death, which took place at a comparatively early age. Having passed some years of his early childhood under

³ According to another individual who recollects seeing him, "he was very *smallly* and delicate, a little *kn-kneed*, and *waigled* a good deal in walking."

the care of a maternal uncle at Lecropt, young Finlayson was sent to school at Kinbuck, in the neighbourhood of his father's house ; and at the age of ten was removed to that of Dumblane. At this early period, he was conspicuous among his playmates, not only for a gayety and energy of character, which placed him at the head of every plan of frolic or amusement, but at the same time for an uncommon degree of application to his juvenile studies, combined with an understanding naturally clear, and a memory so retentive, as to enable him to outstrip the greater number of his school-fellows. As it had been resolved, that he should devote himself to the clerical profession, he was sent at the early age of fourteen, to the university of Glasgow, where he commenced his preparatory course of study ; there, his habits of industry were confirmed, his mind enlarged and invigorated, and his taste for literature and science acquired, under the instruction of the very eminent professors who then adorned that seminary.

In order to relieve his parents of the expense which necessarily attended his residence at college, he engaged in private teaching ; and during the summer vacation, he employed himself in giving instruction to his younger brothers. During two years, he acted as tutor in the family of Mrs Campbell of Carie, and afterwards, with the intervention of a summer, which he devoted to private study, he was employed in the same capacity in the family of Mr Cooper of Glasgow. Professor Anderson, who had discovered his superior abilities and great steadiness, employed him for some time as his amanuensis ; and in the year 1782, he had the good fortune to become domestic tutor to two sons of Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre.¹

There were many circumstances which rendered this connexion desirable to Mr Finlayson. The greater number of young men who engage as tutors in Scotland, look forward to a parochial charge as the ultimate object of their ambition. The interest of the Ochtertyre family was amply sufficient to accomplish that object. Sir William was a man of general information, of a liberal turn of mind, who derived much pleasure from the conversation of an ingenious and intelligent companion ; and few persons were more suited to his taste than Mr Finlayson, whose manners were modest and unassuming, and whose knowledge was accurate and extensive. Possessed of great natural acuteness and originality, his conversation was highly instructive, and rendered him a valuable addition in the retirement of a country residence. As the family spent the winter in Edinburgh, when his pupils attended the high school, Mr Finlayson, had many opportunities of improvement. At the same time that he assisted them in their tasks, he resumed his own studies with renewed vigour ; he attended the divinity hall, and other of the university classes. About this time also, he became a member of the theological society, a body still in existence. Although he took an active part in the discussions which were introduced, and although the extent of his knowledge and the philosophical precision of his language placed him far above the majority of his companions ; yet it cannot be denied that Mr Finlayson's talents were by no means such as fitted him either to shine as an orator, or make a figure in extemporaneous debate.

Mr Finlayson was licensed to preach the gospel in the year 1785. We have the authority of an intimate friend for the style which characterized his earliest appearances in the pulpit. "The composition of his sermons gives evidence of the maturity and manliness of his understanding. They exhibited no juvenile splendour of language, no straining for original or unexpected remark ; ambi-

¹ The eldest son, Sir Patrick, one of the barons of exchequer in Scotland, and the younger Sir George, well known as a quarter-master-general of the army under the duke of Wellington, afterwards secretary of state for the colonies, and member of parliament for Perthshire.

tion of refined, or recondite ingenuity. The subjects were judiciously chosen, and the most instructive and intelligent treatment of them preferred. His reasoning was cogent and correct; his illustrations rational and just; and his style, which neither courted nor rejected ornament, was classically pure, and appropriate. His manner was still less florid than his duties. He carried to the pulpit the same unpretending simplicity, with which he appeared in society; and from his care to avoid affectation and all rhetorical attempts of doubtful success, he might, to the undiscerning have some appearance of coldness; but by those who felt such an interest in the matter, as was due to its excellence, no defect of energy or animation in the manner was observable. If it had no artificial decoration, it had no offensive meanness. As a preacher, Dr Finlayson was nearly what Cowper describes in the following lines:—

“Simple, grave, sincere,
In doctrine uncorrupt; in language plain:
And plain in manner. Decent, solemn, chaste,
And natural in gesture.”

During the course of the year in which he obtained his license, the duke of Athole offered Mr Finlayson the living of Dunkeld. Of this offer he would have been exceedingly glad to accept, had he not received information from Sir William Murray, that a plan was in agitation to procure for him the chair of logic in the university of Edinburgh. This unlooked for prospect gave an entirely different direction to his ambition; and he was induced to decline the duke's offer.

The negotiation, however, respecting the professorship, did not proceed so smoothly as was anticipated. Mr Bruce, who at that time held the chair, had accompanied the present lord Melville as travelling companion in his tour on the continent, and having gone off without giving in his resignation, or making final arrangements, many difficulties arose, which occupied more than a year before they were completely settled, and Mr Finlayson put in possession of the chair. In the meanwhile, Sir William Murray, by his influence with the family of Dundas of Arniston, obtained for him the living of Borthwick, which, while it was in such a near neighbourhood to Edinburgh as to admit of his holding both it and the professorship, secured him in the meantime an independence in the event of the failure of the negotiation for the chair. Mr Finlayson was ordained minister of Borthwick on the 6th of April, 1787. He had, however, at the commencement of the session of that year assumed the duties of the logic class, and it may therefore be easily believed, that the labour he had to undergo in preparing for his ordination, and at the same time being obliged to write his lecture for the following day's delivery, required a very extraordinary degree of application, and great vigour of intellect; and the accuracy of his knowledge is rendered more remarkable from the fact, that many of the lectures thus hurriedly written off, served him without transcription to the end of his life.

During the succeeding summer, he added to his other labours a course of parochial visitation, which, although very common in Scotland, had in his parish been discontinued for upwards of thirty years. This practice he commenced at the suggestion of Dr Robertson, whose due appreciation of the duties of a clergyman was no less remarkable than his splendid abilities. But although he felt the faithful discharge of parochial duties to be strongly incumbent on him, the labour which he had thus to undergo was too great for his constitution, and his parents used to refer to the toils of this period of his life, as having sown the seeds of those organic diseases which ultimately proved fatal.

Abilities such as Mr Finlayson possessed, could not long remain unacknow-

ledged. The stations which he occupied, his own qualifications, and the connexion which he had formed with the Arniston family, more particularly with the late lord Melville, opened up objects of ambition which were afterwards completely realized. His talents for business had been observed and justly appreciated by lord Melville; and it was therefore determined, that on the first vacancy, he should be removed to Edinburgh, where his practical talents would be of essential service in supporting that system of ecclesiastical polity which his lordship had long maintained, and which had for many years directed the measures of the general assembly. Accordingly, in 1790, he was presented by the magistrates of Edinburgh to lady Yester's church: on the death of Dr Robertson in 1793, he was appointed to succeed that distinguished man in the collegiate church of the old Grey-Friars; and on a vacancy taking place in the high church, in the year 1799, he was removed to that collegiate charge. This last is considered the most honourable appointment in the church of Scotland, and it was, at the time, rendered more desirable from the circumstance, that he had for his colleague the celebrated Dr Hugh Blair; whose funeral sermon, however, he was called upon to preach in little more than a year after he became his colleague. The university of Edinburgh conferred on him the honour of doctor of divinity: and in the year 1802, he was chosen moderator of the general assembly, being the highest mark of respect which his brethren of the church could confer on him.

Dr Finlayson had now obtained every honourable preferment which, as a clergyman of the church of Scotland, was attainable in the line of his profession. His influence in the church was now greatly extended, and nothing of any importance was transacted in the ecclesiastical courts without his advice and direction. Among his own party, his sway was unlimited; and even those who differed from him in church politics, freely acknowledged the honourable and straight forward honesty of his conduct. The means by which he raised himself to be the leader of his party were very different from those used by any of his predecessors, who had all been distinguished for the brilliancy of their oratorical powers. Dr Finlayson, well aware of the nature of his talents, established his ascendancy on the wisdom of his councils, and his knowledge of the laws and constitution of the church.

Towards the beginning of 1805, Dr Finlayson's constitution evidently became impaired. In order to try the effects of country air, he spent the greater part of the autumn of that year with his brother; but without deriving any permanent benefit. His health, however, was so far restored, that he was enabled to perform the duties of his class during the following winter; but in the course of the year 1807, he became considerably worse; yet the good effects of a tour which he took, accompanied by some of his friends, led him to hope that he might be able to undergo the fatigue of the following session; and, accordingly, he not only opened his class, but continued for some time to deliver his lectures. At length he was constrained to accept of the assistance of one of his earliest friends, his respected colleague, the very Rev. principal Baird, who taught the class during the remainder of that session. Dr Finlayson's disease increased with much rapidity, and on the 25th of January, 1808, while conversing with principal Baird, he was seized with a paralytic affection, which deprived him of the faculty of speech, and the power of moving one side. Among the few words he was able to articulate was the following impressive sentence:—"I am about to pass to a better habitation, where all who believe in Jesus shall enter." He died on the 28th of January, 1808, in the fiftieth year of his age; and was interred in the cathedral church of Dumblane.

Dr Finlayson was rather below the middle size. His appearance indicated

nothing which was calculated to impress a stranger when first introduced to him. His manner, to those who did not know him, appeared formal, and even distant and shy, but was in truth simple and unassuming; characteristics which strongly marked his mind. With a just confidence in himself which he never affected to disguise, he was without that vanity which makes pretensions to those qualifications which he did not possess. His feelings were naturally keen; and he made no attempt to soften his reprehension of any conduct which was equivocal or base. His perfect sincerity and unconsciousness of any hostile impression which required to be concealed, gave his deportment towards his political opponents an appearance of bluntness. When his friends applied to him for advice, as they uniformly did in every difficulty, if he thought that they had acted amiss, he told them so with explicitness and brevity; for he avowed the utmost contempt of that squeamish sensibility which requires to be "swaddled and dandled" into a sense of duty. Such, however, was the persuasion of the excellence of his counsel, and the purity of his intentions, that, notwithstanding this primitive plainness of manner, even his political opponents, in points of business unconnected with party, are said to have been occasionally guided by his judgment. In conversation he preserved the same artless sincerity; and was perhaps too strict a reasoner to be very lively or amusing as the companion of a relaxing hour. But although little qualified himself to shine in lively conversation, he was pleased with it in others; and often, where he was on intimate habits, he led the way for the display of the talents of his friends, by provoking a harmless and inoffensive raillery. In the more serious offices of friendship, he was unwearied; for his kindness as well as his advice, his purse as well as his personal exertions, were ever at the command of those whom he esteemed.

Of his manner in the pulpit at his first appearance as a preacher, some account has already been given; and it never underwent any material change. But his sermons partook of that progressive improvement which his mind derived from the daily exercise of his powers, and the extension of his knowledge.

He was cautious of exhibiting himself as an author; his only publications being two occasional sermons, and a short account of Dr Blair. He likewise printed, but did not publish the "Heads of an Argument" on a question depending before the ecclesiastical courts. The last production furnished an excellent specimen of his practical powers in the art which it was his province to teach. He likewise consented, a few hours before his death, that a volume of his sermons should be published, and the profits of the sale given in aid of the widow's fund of the church of Scotland.

As a teacher of logic, he acquitted himself in a manner such as might have been expected from his talents, industry, and integrity; restricting himself to inculcate the knowledge already acquired in the department of philosophy, rather than making any attempts at originality.

FLEMING, ROBERT, an eminent divine and theological writer, was the son of the Rev. Robert Fleming, a clergyman, first at Cambuslang, and afterwards at Rotterdam, and author of a well known work, entitled "The Fulfilling of the Scriptures." The subject of this memoir received his education partly in his native country, and partly in the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. He first officiated as a clergyman to the English congregation at Leyden, and afterwards he succeeded to the church at Rotterdam, where his father died in 1694. After some years, he removed to London, to settle as pastor of the Scottish congregation in Lothbury; not only at the earnest invitation of the people, but by the desire of king William, with whom he had formed an intimacy in Holland. This monarch used frequently to send for Fleming, to consult with him upon Scottish affairs; an intercourse conducted, at the desire of the divine, with the greatest secrecy.

Fleming, though a dissenter from the church of Scotland, as now established, was an admirer of her fundamental and original institution. It was not inconsistent with this profession, that he zealously upheld hereditary monarchy as a principle in government. Popery in the church, and tyranny in the state, were what he most detested. His motto was *libere et modeste*, which expresses aptly enough the feelings of a man anxious for liberal institutions, without allowing too much license to the multitude. In personal character, Fleming was a pious, mild, and affable man. In learning, he stood very high, being conversant not only with the fathers and councils, and the ecclesiastical and civil historians, but with the oriental languages, the Jewish Rabbis, and the whole circle of polite authors, ancient and modern. On account of his amiable manners and extensive knowledge, he was held in great esteem both by the foreign universities, and by the most learned persons at home. The archbishop of Canterbury and many other eminent dignitaries of the English church extended their friendship to him. By the dissenting clergymen of the city, though connected with a different national church, he was chosen one of the preachers of the merchants' Tuesday lecture at Salters' hall.

Fleming published various works in divinity; but the most remarkable was a discourse, printed in 1701, on "the Rise and Fall of the Papacy." Like many other sincerely pious men of that age, he was deeply affected by the position in which the protestant religion stood in respect of the papacy, threatened as Great Britain was, by the power of France, and the designs of a catholic claimant of the throne. Proceeding upon the mysteries of the Apocalypse and other data, he made some calculations of a very striking nature, and which chance strangely verified. On the subject of the pouring out of the fourth vial, he says:—"There is ground to hope, that, about the beginning of another such century, things may again alter for the better, for I cannot but hope that some new mortification of the chief supporters of antichrist will then happen; and perhaps the French monarchy may begin to be considerably humbled about that time: that, whereas the present French king takes for his motto, *Nec pluribus impar*, he may at length, or rather his successors, and the monarchy itself, (at least before the year 1794,) be forced to acknowledge, that, in respect to neighbouring potentates, he is even *singulis impar*.

"But as to the expiration of this vial," he continues, "I do fear it will not be until the year 1794. The reason of which conjecture is this—that I find the pope got a new foundation of exaltation when Justinian, upon his conquest of Italy, left it in a great measure to the pope's management, being willing to eclipse his own authority to advance that of this haughty prelate. Now, this being in the year 552, this, by the addition of 1260, reaches down to the year 1811; which, according to prophetic account, is the year 1794. And then I do suppose the fourth vial will end and the fifth commence, by a new mortification of the papacy, after this vial has lasted 148 years; which indeed is long in comparison with the former vials; but if it be considered in relation to the fourth, fifth, and sixth trumpets, it is but short, seeing the fourth lasted 190 years, the fifth 302, and the sixth 393."

It is important to observe, that Fleming immediately subjoins, that he gave "his speculations of what is future, no higher character than guesses." He adds: "therefore, in the fourth and last place, we may justly suppose that the French monarchy, after it has scorched others, will itself consume by doing so; its fire and that which is the fuel that maintains it, resting insensibly till towards the end of this century, as the Spanish monarchy did before, towards the end of the sixteenth age,"

In the month of January, 1793, when Louis XVI. was about to suffer on

the scaffold, the apparent predictions of Fleming came into notice in the British newspapers; and much interest was excited respecting them. We are even informed that the liberal party succeeded in creating, by this means, with the assistance, no doubt, of others, a reluctance towards the war upon which Britain was then entering against France. The coincidences are very curious, especially in the passage last quoted, where the author seems to foretell the extinction of the French monarchy, in a fire of revolutionary principles, by which, in supporting the cause of America, it had previously scorched Great Britain; but before bestowing much wonder or interest on such a subject, we should think of the numbers of equally respectable prophecies which have never yet met fulfilment, and were never therefore brought into notice.

The anxiety of this worthy man respecting the fate of protestantism and the Hanover succession, at length brought on a disease which obstructed his usefulness, and threatened his life. Though he recovered from it, and lived some years, his feeble constitution finally sank under his grief for the loss of some dear friends, the death of some noble patriots, the divisions amongst protestants, and the confederacy of France and Rome to bind Europe in chains. He died May 24, 1716.

FLETCHER, ANDREW, so much celebrated for his patriotism and political knowledge, was the son of Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton and Innerpeffer, by Catharine Bruce, daughter of Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, and was born in the year 1653. His descent was truly noble, his father being the fifth in a direct line from Sir Bernard Fletcher of the county of York, and his mother of the noble race of Bruce; the patriarch of the family of Clackmannan, having been the third son of Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, grandfather of Robert de Bruce, king of Scots. The subject of this memoir had the misfortune to lose his father in early youth; but he was, by that parent, on his death-bed, consigned to the care of Gilbert Burnet, then minister of Salton, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who carefully instructed him in literature and religion, as well as in the principles of free government, of which Fletcher became afterwards such an eminent advocate. After completing his course of education under his excellent preceptor, he went upon his travels, and spent several years in surveying the manners and examining the institutions of the principal continental states. His first appearance as a public character was in the parliament held by James, duke of York, as royal commissioner, in the year 1681. In this parliament Fletcher sat as commissioner for the shire of East Lothian, and manifested the most determined opposition to the arbitrary and tyrannical measures of the court. In a short time he found it necessary to withdraw himself, first into England, to consult with his reverend preceptor, Dr Burnet, and afterwards, by his advice, to Holland. For his opposition to the test, and to the general spirit of the government, he was, not long after, summoned to appear before the lords of his majesty's privy council at Edinburgh. Of the spirit of this court, the most abominable that has disgraced the annals of Great Britain, Fletcher was too well aware to put himself in its power, and for his non-appearance he was outlawed and his estate confiscated. Holland was at this time the resort of many of the best men of both kingdoms, who had been obliged to expatriate themselves, to escape the fury of an infatuated government, and with these Fletcher formed the closest intimacy. In the year 1683, he accompanied Baillie of Jerviswood to England, in order to concert measures with the friends of liberty there, and was admitted into the secrets of lord Russell's council of six. This assembly consisted of the duke of Monmouth, the lords Russell, Essex, and Howard, Algernon Sydney, and John Hampden, grandson to the immortal patriot of that name. Tyranny was, how-

ever, at this time, triumphant. Monmouth was obliged to abscond ; Russell was apprehended, tried, and executed, principally through the evidence of his associate lord Howard, who was an unprincipled wretch. Essex was imprisoned, and either cut his own throat, or had it cut by assassins,—history has never determined which. Sydney was executed, and Howard subjected to a fine of forty thousand pounds sterling. Many other persons of inferior note were executed for this plot. Jerviswood fell into the hands of the Scottish administration, and was most illegally and iniquitously put to death. Fletcher too was eagerly sought after, and, had he been apprehended, would certainly have shared the same fate. He, however, escaped again to the continent, where he devoted his time to the study of public law, and for sometime seems to have had little correspondence with his native country.

In the beginning of the year 1685, when James VII. acceded to the throne of Britain, Fletcher came to the Hague, where were assembled Monmouth, Argyle, Melville, Polworth, Torwoodlie, Mr James Stuart, lord Stair, and many other gentlemen, both Scottish and English, when the unfortunate expeditions of Argyle and Monmouth were concerted. It does not appear, however, that Fletcher was a leader among these gentlemen. His temper was of the most stern and unaccommodating character, and he was bent upon setting up a commonwealth in Scotland, or at least a monarchy so limited as to bear very little resemblance to a kingdom. He had drunk deep of the spirit of ancient Greece, with which the greater part of his associates, patriots though they were, had no great acquaintance, and he had a consciousness of his own superiority that could not go well down with those feudal chieftains, who supposed that their birth alone entitled them to precedence in council, as well as to command in the field. His own country was certainly dearer to him than any other, and in it he was likely to put forth his energies with the greatest effect ; yet from his dissatisfaction with their plans of operation, he did not embark with his countrymen, but with the duke of Monmouth, in whom, if successful, he expected less obstruction to his republican views. Fletcher was certainly at the outset warmly attached to Monmouth's scheme of landing in England, though he subsequently wished it to be laid aside ; and he afterwards told Burnet, that Monmouth, though a weak young man, was sensible of the imprudence of his adventure, but that he was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason, and was piqued upon the point of honour in hazarding his person with his friends. He accordingly landed at Lynn, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June, 1685, with about an hundred followers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one of the most distinguished. Crowds of people soon flocked to join the standard of Monmouth, and, had he been qualified for such affairs as that he had now undertaken, the revolution of 1688 might perhaps have been anticipated. He, however, possessed no such qualifications, nor did those on whom he had principally depended. Lord Gray, to whom he had given the command of the horse, was sent out with a small party to disperse a detachment of militia that had been assembled to oppose him. The militia retreated before the troops of Monmouth, who stood firm ; but Gray, their general, fled, carrying back to his camp the news of a defeat, which was in a short time contradicted by the return of the troops in good order. Monmouth had intended to join Fletcher along with Gray in the command of his cavalry, and the Scottish patriot certainly would not have fled, so long as one man stood by him ; but unfortunately, at the very time when Gray was out on the service in which he so completely disgraced his character, Fletcher was sent out in another direction, in which he was scarcely less unfortunate, having, in a personal quarrel about a horse which he had too hastily laid hold of for his own use, killed the mayor of

Lynn, who had newly come in to join the insurgent army, in consequence of which he was under the necessity of leaving the camp immediately. The melancholy fate of Monmouth is generally known.

Though there cannot be a doubt that the shooting of the mayor of Lynn was the real cause of Fletcher's abandoning the enterprise so early, he himself never admitted it. He had joined, he said, the duke of Monmouth on the footing of his manifestations, which promised to provide for the permanent security of civil liberty and the protestant religion, by the calling of a general congress of delegates from the people at large, to form a free constitution of government, in which no claim to the throne was to be admitted, but with the free choice of the representatives of the people. From the proclaiming of Monmouth king, which was done at Taunton, he saw, he said, that he had been deceived, and resolved to proceed no further, every step from that moment being treason against the just rights of the nation, and deep treachery on the part of Monmouth. At any rate, finding that he could be no longer useful, he left Taunton, and embarked aboard a vessel for Spain, where he no sooner arrived, than he was thrown into prison, and on the application of the British ambassador, was ordered to be delivered up and transmitted to London in a Spanish ship fitted up for that purpose. In this hopeless situation, looking one morning through the bars of his dungeon, he was accosted by a person, who made signs that he wished to speak with him. Looking around him, Fletcher perceived an open door, at which he was met by his deliverer, with whom he passed unmolested through three different military guards, all of whom seemed to be fast asleep, and without being permitted to return thanks to his guide, made good his escape, with the assistance of one who evidently had been sent for the express purpose, but of whom he never obtained the smallest information. Travelling in disguise, he proceeded through Spain, and considering himself out of danger, made a leisurely pilgrimage through the country, amusing himself in the libraries of the convents, where he had the good fortune to find many rare and curious books, some of which he was enabled to purchase and bring along with him, to the enriching of the excellent library he had already formed at his seat of Salton, in East Lothian. In the course of his peregrinations, he made several very narrow escapes, among which the following is remarkable, as having apparently furnished the hint for a similar incident in a well-known fiction. He was proceeding to a town where he intended to have passed the night; but in the skirts of a wood, a few miles from thence, upon entering a road to the right, he was warned by a woman of respectable appearance, to take the left hand road, as there would be danger in the other direction. Upon his arrival, he found the citizens alarmed by the news of a robbery and murder, which had taken place on the road against which he had been cautioned, and in which he would have certainly been implicated, through an absurd Spanish law, even although not seen to commit any crime. After leaving Spain, he proceeded into Hungary, where he entered as a volunteer into the army, and distinguished himself by his gallantry and military talents. From this distant scene of activity, however, he was soon recalled by the efforts that at length were making to break the yoke of tyranny and the staff of the oppressor that had so long lain heavy on the kingdoms of Britain. Coming to the Hague, he found there his old friends, Stair, Melville, Polworth, Cardross, Stuart of Coltness, Stuart of Goodtrees, Dr Burnet, and Mr Cunningham, who still thought his principles high and extravagant, though they associated with him, and were happy to have the influence of his name and the weight of his talents to aid them on so momentous an occasion. Though not permitted to be a leader in the great work of the revolution, for

which, indeed, both his principles, which were so different from those of the men who effected it, and his intractable and unyielding temper, alike disqualified him, he came home in the train of his countrymen, who, by that great event were restored to their country and to their rightful possessions; and, according to the statement of the earl of Buchan,¹ made a noble appearance in the convention which met in Scotland after the revolution for settling the new government. Lockhart of Carnwath, who was no friend to the new government, nor of the principles upon which it was founded, takes no notice of this portion of the life of Fletcher, though he is large upon his speeches, and indeed every part of his conduct, when he afterwards became a violent opposititionist.

In the year 1692, when every effort to bring about a counter revolution was made, Fletcher, though strongly, and perhaps justly, disgusted with king William, renouncing every selfish principle, and anxious only to promote the welfare of the country, exerted himself to the utmost to preserve what had been already attained in the way of a free government, though it came far short of what he wished, and what he fondly, too fondly, hoped the nation had been ripe to bear. In all that regarded the public welfare, he was indeed indefatigable, and that without any appearance of interested motives. He was the first friend and patron of that extraordinary man, William Paterson, to whom the honour of the formation of the bank of England ought, in justice, to be ascribed, and who projected the Darien company, the most splendid idea of colonization that was ever attempted to be put in practice. "Paterson," says Sir John Dalrymple, "on his return to London, formed a friendship with Mr Fletcher, of Salton, whose mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whose ideas to procure it had a sublimity in them. Fletcher disliked England, merely because he loved Scotland to excess, and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably true, that he was the person who persuaded Paterson to trust the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the sole benefit, glory, and danger in it, for in its danger, Fletcher deemed some of its glory to consist. Although Fletcher had nothing to hope for, and nothing to fear, because he had a good estate and no children, and though he was of the country party, yet, in all his schemes for the public good, he was in use to go as readily to the king's ministers, as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His house of Salton, in east Lothian, was near to that of the marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland, and they were often together. Fletcher brought Paterson down to Scotland with him, presented him to the marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement spirit always possesses over a diffident one, persuaded the statesman, by arguments of public good, and of the honour that would redound to his administration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr Johnston, the two secretaries of state, patronized those abilities in Paterson, which they possessed in themselves, and the lord advocate, Sir James Stewart, the same man who had adjusted the prince of Orange's declaration at the revolution, and whose son was married to a daughter of lord Stair, went naturally along with his connexions." From the above, it appears that Fletcher, next to the projector, Paterson, who was, like himself, an ardent lover of liberty, had the principal hand in forwarding the colonization of Darien, and to his ardent and expansive mind, we have no doubt, that the plan owed some, at least, of its excellencies, and also, perhaps, the greatest of its defects. "From this period," remarks lord Buchan, "till the meeting of the Union Parliament, Fletcher was uniform and indefatigable in his parliamentary conduct, continually attentive to the rights of the people, and jealous, as every friend of his

¹ Life of Fletcher of Salton.

country ought to be, of their invasion by the king and his ministers, for it is as much of the nature of kings and ministers to invade and destroy the rights of the people, as it is of foxes and weasels to rifle a poultry yard, and destroy the poultry. All of them, therefore," continues his lordship, "ought to be *muzzled*." Among other things that Fletcher judged necessary for the preservation of public liberty, was that of national militia. In a discourse upon this subject, he says, "a good and effective militia is of such importance to a nation, that it is the chief part of the constitution of any free government. For though, as to other things the constitution be never so slight, a good militia will always preserve the public liberty; but in the best constitution that ever was, as to all other parts of government, if the militia be not upon a right footing, the liberty of that people must perish."

Scotland, ever since the union of crowns, had been stripped of all her importance in a national point of view, and the great object at this time, was to exclude English influence from her councils, and to restore her to her original state of independence; a thing which could never be accomplished, so long as the king of Scotland was the king of England. James the sixth, when he succeeded to the English crown, wiser than any of his statesmen, saw this difficulty, and proposed to obviate it by the only possible means, a union of the two kingdoms; but owing to the inveterate prejudices of so many ages, neither of the kingdoms could at that time be brought to submit to the judicious proposal. Fletcher and his compatriots saw what had been the miserable evils, but they saw not the proper remedy; hence, they pursued a plan that, but for the superior wisdom of the English, would have separated the crowns, brought on hostilities, and the entire subjection of the country, by force of arms. In all the measures which had for their object the annihilating of English influence, Fletcher had the principal hand, and there were some of them of singular boldness. In case of the crowns of the two kingdoms continuing to be worn by one person, the following, after pointing out in strong terms the evils that had accrued to Scotland from this unfortunate association, were the limitations proposed by Fletcher:—"1st, That elections shall be made at every Michaelmas head court, for a new parliament every year, to sit the first of November next following, and adjourn themselves from time to time till next Michaelmas—that they choose their own president, and that every thing shall be determined by balloting, in place of voting. 2d, That so many lesser barons shall be added to the parliament, as there have been noblemen created since the last augmentation of the number of the barons, and that in all time coming, for every nobleman that shall be created, there shall be a baron added to the parliament. 3d, That no man have a vote in parliament but a nobleman or elected members. 4th, That the kings shall give the sanction to all laws offered by the estates, and that the president of the parliament be empowered by his majesty to give the sanction in his absence, and have ten pounds sterling a day of salary. 5th, That a committee of one-and-thirty members, of which nine to be a quorum, chosen out of their own number by every parliament, shall, during the intervals of parliament, under the king, have the administration of the government, be his council, and accountable to the next parliament, with power, on extraordinary occasions, to call the parliament together, and that, in said council, all things be determined by balloting, in place of voting. 6th, That the king, without consent of parliament, shall not have the power of making peace and war, or that of concluding any treaty with any other state or potentate. 7th, That all places and offices, both civil and military, and all pensions formerly conferred by our kings, shall ever after be given by parliament. 8th, That no regiment or company of horse, foot, or dragoons, be kept on foot in peace or war, but by consent of parliament. 9th, That all the fencible men of the nation betwixt sixty and

sixteen, be with all diligence possible armed with bayonets and firelocks all of a calibre, and continue always provided in such arms, with ammunition suitable. 10th, That no general indemnity nor pardon for any transgression against the public shall be valid without consent of parliament. 11th, That the fifteen senators of the college of justice shall be incapable of being members of parliament, or of any other office or pension but the salary that belongs to their place, to be increased as the parliament shall think fit; that the office of president shall be in three of their number to be named by parliament, and that there be no extraordinary lords. And also, that the lords of the justice court shall be distinct from that of the session, and under the same restrictions. 12th, That if any king break in upon any of these conditions of government, he shall, by the estates, be declared to have forfeited the crown." The above limitations did not pass the house, though they met with very general support; yet, something little short of them were really passed, and received the royal assent. The so much applauded Act of Security made many provisions respecting the mode of proceeding in parliament in case of the queen's death, with the conditions under which the successor to the crown of England was to be allowed to succeed to that of Scotland, which were to be, "at least, freedom of navigation, free communication of trade, and liberty of the plantations to the kingdom and subjects of Scotland, established by the parliament of England." It also provided, "that the whole protestant heritors with all the burghs of the kingdom, should forthwith provide themselves with fire-arms, for all the fencible men who were protestants within their respective bounds, and they were further ordained and appointed to exercise the said fencible men once a month, at least." The same parliament passed an act ament peace and war, which provided, among other things, that after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person, at the same time king or queen of Scotland and England, shall have sole power of making war with any prince, state, or potentate whatsoever, without consent of parliament. A proposal made at this time for settling the succession, as the English parliament had done in the house of Hanover, was treated with the utmost contempt, some proposing to burn it, and others insisting that the member who proposed it should be sent to the castle, and it was at last thrown out by a majority of fifty-seven voices. Another limitation proposed by Fletcher, was, that all places, offices, and pensions, which had been formerly given by our king, should, after her majesty and heirs of her body, be conferred only by parliament so long as the crowns remained united. "Without this limitation," he continues, "our poverty and subjection to the court of England will every day increase, and the question we have now before us, is, whether we will be free-men, or slaves for ever? whether we will continue to defend or break the yoke of our independence? and whether we will choose to live poor and miserable; or rich, free, and happy? Let no man think to object that this limitation takes away the whole power of the prince; for the same condition of government is found in one of the most absolute monarchies of the world, China." Quoting the authority of Sir William Temple for this fact, he continues, "and if, under the greatest absolute monarchy of the world, in a country where the prince actually resides—if among heathens this be accounted a necessary part of government for the encouragement of virtue, shall it be denied to christians living under a prince who resides in another nation? Shall it be denied to people who have a right to liberty, and yet are not capable of any, in their present circumstances, without this limitation." We cannot refrain copying the following sentences on the benefits he anticipated from the measure:—"This limitation will undoubtedly enrich the nation by stopping that perpetual issue of money to England, which has reduced this country to extreme poverty. This limitation does not flatter

us with the hopes of riches, by an uncertain project—does not require so much as the condition of our own industry ; but by saving great sums to the country, will every year furnish a stock sufficient to carry on a considerable trade, or to establish some useful manufacture at home with the highest probability of success : because, our ministers, by this rule of government, would be freed from the influence of English councils, and our trade be entirely in our own hands, and not under the power of the court, as it was in the affair of Darien. If we do not attain this limitation, our attendance at London will continue to drain this nation of all those sums which should be a stock for trade. Besides, by frequenting that court, we not only spend our money, but learn the expensive modes and ways of living of a rich and luxurious nation ; we lay out, yearly, great sums in furniture and equipage to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade and manufactures of our own country. Not that I think it amiss to travel into England, in order to see and learn their industry in trade and husbandry ; but at court, what can we learn, except a horrid corruption of manners, and an expensive way of living, that we may for ever after be both poor and profligate ? This limitation will secure to us our freedom and independence. It has been often said in this house, that our princes are captives in England, and, indeed, one would not wonder, if, when our interest happens to be different from that of England, our kings, who must be supported by the riches and power of that nation in all their undertakings, should prefer an English interest before that of this country ; it is yet less strange, that English ministers should advise and procure the advancement of such persons to the ministry of Scotland, as will comply with their measures and the king's orders, and to surmount the difficulties they may meet with from a true Scottish interest, that places and pensions should be bestowed upon parliament men and others. I say, these things are so far from wonder, that they are inevitable in the present state of our affairs ; but I hope, they likewise show us that we ought not to continue any longer in this condition. Now, this limitation is advantageous to all. The prince will no more be put upon the hardship of deciding between an English and a Scottish interest, or the difficulty of reconciling what he owes to each nation in consequence of his coronation oath. Even English ministers will no longer lie under the temptation of meddling in Scottish affairs, nor the ministers of this kingdom, together with all those who have places and pensions be any more subject to the worst of all slavery. But if the influences I mentioned before still continue, what will any other limitation avail us ? What shall we be the better for our act concerning the power of war and peace, since by the force of an English interest and influence, we cannot fail of being engaged in every war, and neglected in every peace ? By this limitation, our parliament will become the most uncorrupted senate of all Europe. No man will be tempted to vote against the interest of his country, when his country shall have all the bribes in her own hands, offices, places, and pensions. It will be no longer necessary to lose one half of the customs, that parliament men may be made collectors ; we will not desire to exclude the officers of state from sitting in this house, when the country shall have the nomination of them ; and our parliament, free from corruption, cannot fail to redress all our grievances. We shall then have no cause to fear a refusal of the royal assent to our acts, for we shall have no evil counsellor nor enemy of his country to advise it. When this condition of government shall take place, the royal assent will be the ornament of the prince, and never be refused to the desires of the people ; a general unanimity will be found in this house, in every part of the government, and among all ranks and conditions of men. The distinctions of court and country party shall no more be heard in this nation, nor shall the prince and people any longer have a different interest. Rewards and punishments will

be in the hands of those who live among us, and consequently best know the merit of men, by which means, virtue will be recompensed, and vice discouraged, and the reign and government of the prince will flourish in peace and justice. I should never make an end if I should prosecute all the great advantages of this limitation, which, like a divine influence, turns all to good, as the want of it has hitherto poisoned every thing, and brought all to ruin."

If Fletcher really believed the one half of what he ascribes in this speech to his favourite limitation, he was an enthusiast of no common order. We suspect, however, that his design was in the first place to render the king insignificant, and then to dismiss him altogether; it being one of his favourite maxims, that the trappings of a monarchy and a great aristocracy would patch up a very clever little commonwealth. The high-flying tories of that day, however, or in other words, the jacobites, in the heat of their rage and the bitterness of their disappointment, clung to him as their last hope of supporting even his most deadly attacks upon the royal prerogative, from the desperate pleasure of seeing the kingly office, since they could not preserve it for their own idol, rendered useless, ridiculous, or intolerable to any one else who should enjoy it. By this means, there was a seeming consistency in those ebullitions of national independence, and a strength and vigour which they really did not possess, but which alarmed the English ministry; and the union of the kingdoms, which good sense and good feeling ought to have accomplished, at least one century earlier, was effected, at last, as a work of political necessity, fully as much as of mercy. In every stage of this important business, Fletcher was its most determined opponent, in which he was, as usual, seconded by the whole strength of the jacobites. Happily, however, through the prudence of the English ministry, the richness of her treasury, and the imbecility of the duke of Hamilton, the leader of the jacobites, he was unsuccessful, and retired from public life, under the melancholy idea that he had outlived, not only his country's glory, but her very existence, having witnessed, as he thought, the last glimmering of hope, and heard the last sounds of freedom that were ever to make glad the hearts of her unfortunate children. He died at London in 1716.

The character of Fletcher has been the subject of almost universal and unlimited panegyric. "He was," says the earl of Buchan, "by far the most nervous and correct speaker in the parliament of Scotland, for he drew his style from the pure models of antiquity, and not from the grosser practical oratory of his contemporaries; so that his speeches will bear a comparison with the best speeches of the reign of queen Anne, the Augustan age of Great Britain." Lockhart says, "he was always an admirer of both ancient and modern republics, but that he showed a sincere and honest inclination towards the honour and interest of his country. The idea of England's domineering over Scotland was what his generous soul could not endure. The indignities and oppression Scotland lay under galled him to the heart, so that, in his learned and elaborate discourses, he exposed them with undaunted courage and pathetic eloquence. He was blessed with a soul that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a gentlemen, and was so steadfast to what he thought right, that no hazard nor advantage,—not the universal empire, nor the gold of America, could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm that in all his life, he never once pursued a measure with the least prospect of any thing by end to himself, nor farther than he judged it for the common benefit and advantage of his country. He was master of the English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages, and well versed in history, the civil law, and all kinds of learning. He was a strict and nice observer of all the points of honour, and had some experience of the art of war, having been some time a

volunteer in both the land and sea service. He was in his private conversation affable to his friends, (but could not endure to converse with those he thought enemies to their country,) and free of all manner of vice. He had a penetrating, clear, and lively apprehension, but so exceedingly wedded to his own opinions, that there were few, (and these too must be his beloved friends, and of whom he had a good opinion,) he could endure to reason against him, and did for the most part so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced, which was frequently very singular, that he'd break with his party before he'd alter the least jot of his scheme and maxims; and therefore it was impossible for any set of men, that did not give up themselves to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all points: and thence it came to pass, that he often in parliament acted a part by himself, though in the main he stuck close to the country party, and was their Cicero. He was no doubt an enemy to all monarchical governments; but I do very well believe, his aversion to the English and the union was so great, that in revenge to them he'd have sided with the royal family. But as that was a subject not fit to be entered on with him, this is only a conjecture from some inuendoes I have heard him make. So far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with high flying tories more than any other set of men, acknowledging them to be the best countrymen, and of most honour and integrity. To sum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honest, and every other way well accomplished gentleman; and if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy, as a pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded by obtaining the character of being like Andrew Fletcher of Salton."—Of the general truth of these descriptions we have no doubt; but they are strongly coloured through a national prejudice that was a principal defect in Fletcher's own character. That he was an ardent lover of liberty and of his country, his whole life bore witness; but he was of a temper so fiery and ungovernable, and besides so excessively dogmatic, that he was of little service as a coadjutor in carrying on public affairs. His shooting the mayor of Lynn on a trifling dispute, and his collaring lord Stair in the parliament house, for a word which he thought reflected upon him, showed a mind not sufficiently disciplined for the business of life; and his national partialities clouded his otherwise perspicacious faculties, contracted his views, and rendered his most philosophical speculations, and his most ardent personal exertions of little utility. Upon the whole, he was a man, we think, rather to be admired than imitated; and, like many other popular characters, owes his reputation to the defects, rather than to the excellencies of his character.

FLETCHER, ANDREW, a distinguished judge, under the designation of lord Milton, and for many years *sous ministre* of Scotland, under Archibald duke of Argyle, was a nephew of the subject of the preceding memoir. His father, Henry Fletcher of Salton, was the immediate younger brother of the patriot, but, distinguished by none of the public spirit of that individual, was only known as a good country gentleman. The genius of lord Milton appeared to have been derived from his mother, who was a daughter of Sir David Carnegie of Pitarrow, and grand-daughter of David earl of Southesk. During the troubles in which the family was involved, in consequence of their liberal principles, this lady went to Holland, taking with her a weaver and a mill-wright, both men of genius and enterprise in their respective departments, and by their means she secretly obtained the art of weaving and dressing the fine linen called *Holland*, of which she established the manufacture at Salton. Andrew, the son of this extraordinary woman, was born in 1692, and educated for the bar. He was

admitted advocate in 1717, one of the lords of session in 1724, when only thirty-two years of age, and lord justice clerk, or president of the criminal court, in 1735, which office, on being appointed keeper of the signet in 1748, he relinquished.

The acuteness of lord Milton's understanding, his judgment and address, and his intimate knowledge of the laws, customs, and temper of Scotland, recommended him early to the notice and confidence of lord Ilay, afterwards duke of Argyle, who, under Sir Robert Walpole, and subsequent ministers, was entrusted with the chief management of Scottish affairs. As lord Ilay resided chiefly at the court, he required a confidential agent in Scotland, who might give him all necessary information, and act as his guide in the dispensation of the government patronage. In this capacity lord Milton served for a considerable number of years; during which, his house was, in its way, a kind of court, and himself looked up to as a person little short of a king. It is universally allowed, that nothing could exceed the discretion with which his lordship managed his delicate and difficult duties; especially during the civil war of 1745. Even the jacobites admitted that they owed many obligations to the humanity and good sense of lord Milton.

In February, 1746, when the highland army had retired to the north, and the duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh to put himself at the head of the forces in Scotland, he was indebted to lord Milton for the advice which induced him to march northward in pursuit; without which proceeding, the war would probably have been protracted a considerable time. After the suppression of the insurrection, Milton applied himself with immense zeal to the grand design which he had chiefly at heart—the promotion of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, in his native country; and it would be difficult to estimate exactly the gratitude due to his memory for his exertions towards that noble object. After a truly useful and meritorious life of seventy-four years, his lordship expired at his house of Brunstain, near Musselburgh, on the 13th of December, 1766.

FORBES, ALEXANDER, lord Pitsligo, was the only son of Alexander, third lord Pitsligo, and lady Sophia Erskine, daughter of John, ninth earl of Marr. He was born on the 22nd of May, 1678, and succeeded his father in his titles and estates in 1691, while yet a minor. He soon after went to France; and during his residence in that country, embraced the opinions of madame Guion, to whom he had been introduced by Fenelon. On his return to Scotland, he took the oaths and his seat in parliament, and commenced his political career as an oppositioinist to the court party. He joined the duke of Athole in opposing the union; but on the extension of the oath of abjuration to Scotland, he withdrew from public business. A jacobite in principle, he took an active part in the rebellion of 1715; but escaped attainder, though he found it expedient to withdraw for a time to the continent, after the suppression of that ill-judged attempt. In 1720, he returned to his native country, and devoted himself to the study of literature and the mystical writings of the Quietists, at his castle of Pitsligo, in Aberdeenshire. His age and infirmities, as well as experience, might have prevailed upon him to abide in silence the result of prince Charles's enterprise in 1745; but, actuated by a sense of duty, he joined that enterprise, and was the means, by his example, of drawing many of the gentlemen of Aberdeenshire into the tide of insurrection; no one thinking he could be wrong in taking the same course with a man of so much prudence and sagacity. Lord Pitsligo arrived at Holyroodhouse some time after the battle of Prestonpans, and was appointed by prince Charles to command a troop of horse, chiefly raised out of the Aberdeenshire gentry, and which was called Pitsligo's

regiment. He accompanied the army through all its subsequent adventures, and having survived the disastrous affair of Culloden, was attainted by the government, and eagerly sought for by its truculent emissaries. The subsequent life of this unfortunate nobleman was a very extraordinary one, as will appear from the following anecdotes, which we extract from a memoir of his lordship, published in connexion with his "Thoughts on Man's Condition;" *Edinburgh*, 1829:—

"After the battle of Culloden, lord Pitsligo concealed himself for some time in the mountainous district of the country, and a second time experienced the kindly dispositions of the country people, even the lowest, to misfortune. The country had been much exhausted for the supply of the prince's army, and the people who gave him shelter and protection were extremely poor; yet they freely shared their humble and scanty fare with the unknown stranger. This fare was what is called *water-brose*, that is, oatmeal moistened with hot water, on which he chiefly subsisted for some time; and when, on one occasion, he remarked that its taste would be much improved by a little salt, the reply was, 'Ay, man, but sa't's touchy,' meaning it was too expensive an indulgence for them. However, he was not always in such bad quarters; for he was concealed for some days at the house of New Miln, near Elgin, along with his friends, Mr Cummine of Pitullie, Mr Irvine of Drum, and Mr Mercer of Aberdeen, where Mrs King, Pitullie's sister, herself made their beds, and waited upon them."

"It was known in London, that about the end of April, 1746, he was lurking about the coast of Buchan, as it was supposed, with the view of finding an opportunity of making his escape to France; and it required the utmost caution on his part, to elude the search that was made for him. To such an extremity was he reduced, that he was actually obliged on one occasion to conceal himself in a hollow place in the earth, under the arch of a small bridge at Craigmaud, upon his own estate, about nine miles up into the country from Fraserburgh, and about two and a half from where New Pitsligo now is, which was scarcely large enough to contain him; and this most uncomfortable place seems to have been selected for his retreat, just because there was little chance of detection, as no one could conceive it possible that a human being could be concealed in it. At this time, he lay sometimes in the daytime concealed in the mosses near Craigmaud, and was much annoyed by the lapwings flying about the place, lest they should attract notice to the spot, and direct those who were in search of him in their pursuit.

As yet, the estate of Pitsligo was not taken possession of by government, and lady Pitsligo continued to reside at the castle. Lord Pitsligo occasionally paid secret visits to it in disguise. The disguise that he assumed was that of a mendicant, and lady Pitsligo's maid was employed to provide him with two bags to put under his arms, after the fashion of the *Edie Ochiltrees* of those days. He sat beside her while she made them, and she long related with wonder how cheerful he was, while thus superintending this work, which betokened the ruin of his fortune, and the forfeiture of his life.

When walking out in his disguise one day, he was suddenly overtaken by a party of dragoons scouring the country in pursuit of him. The increased exertion, from his desire to elude them, brought on a fit of asthmatic coughing, which completely overpowered him. He could proceed no farther, and was obliged to sit down by the road-side, where he calmly waited their approach. The idea suggested by his disguise and infirmity was acted upon, and, in his character of a mendicant, he begged alms of the dragoons who came to apprehend him. His calmness and resignation did not forsake him, no perturbation betrayed him, and one of the dragoons stopped, and, with great kindness of

heart, actually bestowed a mite on the venerable old man, condoling with him at the same time on the severity of his cough.

On another occasion, lord Pitsligo had sought and obtained shelter in a shoemaker's house, and shortly after, a party of dragoons were seen approaching. Their errand was not doubtful; and the shoemaker, who had recognized the stranger, was in the greatest trepidation, and advised him to put on one of the workmen's aprons and some more of his clothes, and to sit down on one of the stools, and pretend to be mending a shoe. The party came into the shop in the course of their search; and the shoemaker, observing that the soldiers looked as if they thought the hands of this workman were not very like those of a practised son of king Crispin, and fearing that a narrower inspection would betray him, with great presence of mind, gave orders to lord Pitsligo, as if he had been one of his workmen, to go to the door and hold one of the horses, which he did accordingly. His own composure and entire absence of hurry, allayed suspicion, and he escaped this danger. He used afterwards jocularly to say,— 'he had been at one time a Buchan cobbler.'

"One of the narrowest escapes which he made from discovery, when met in his mendicant's dress by those who were in search of him, was attended with circumstances which made the adventure singularly romantic and interesting. At that time, there lived in that district of the country, a fool called Sandy Annand, a well known character. The kindly feelings of the peasantry of Scotland to persons of weak intellect are well known, and are strongly marked by the name of 'the innocent,' which is given to them. They are generally harmless creatures, contented with the enjoyment of the sun and air as their highest luxuries, and privileged to the hospitality of every house, so far as their humble wants require. There is often, too, a mixture of shrewdness with their folly, and they are always singularly attached to those who are kind to them. Lord Pitsligo, disguised as usual, had gone into a house where the fool happened to be at the time. He immediately recognized him, and did not restrain his feelings, as others did in the same situation, but was busily employed in showing his respect for his lordship, in his own peculiar and grotesque manner, expressing his great grief at seeing him in such a fallen state, when a party entered the house to search for him. They asked the fool, who was the person that he was lamenting thus? What a moment of intense anxiety both to lord Pitsligo and the inmates of the house! It was impossible to expect any other answer from the poor weak creature, but one which would betray the unfortunate nobleman. Sandy, however, with that shrewdness which men of his intellect often exhibit on the most trying occasions, said, 'He kent him aince a muckle farmer, but his sheep a' dee'd in the 40.' It was looked upon as a special interposition of Providence, which put such an answer into the mouth of the fool.

"In March, 1756, and of course, long after all apprehension of a search had ceased, information having been given to the commanding officer at Fraserburgh, that lord Pitsligo was at that moment in the house of Auchiries, it was acted upon with so much promptness and secrecy, that the search must have proved successful, but for a very singular occurrence. Mrs Sophia Donaldson, a lady who lived much with the family, repeatedly dreant on that particular night, that the house was surrounded by soldiers. Her mind became so haunted with the idea, that she got out of bed, and was walking through the room in hopes of giving a different current to her thoughts before she lay down again; when, day beginning to dawn, she accidentally looked out at the window as she passed it in traversing the room, and was astonished at actually observing the figures of soldiers among some trees near the house. So completely had all idea of a search been by that time laid asleep, that she supposed they had come to steal

poultry ; jacobite poultry yards affording a safe object of pillage for the English soldiers in those days. Under this impression, Mrs Sophia was proceeding to rouse the servants, when her sister having awakened, and inquired what was the matter, and being told of soldiers near the house, exclaimed in great alarm, that she feared they wanted something more than hens. She begged Mrs Sophia to look out at a window on the other side of the house, when, not only soldiers were seen in that direction, but also an officer giving instructions by signals, and frequently putting his fingers on his lips, as if enjoining silence. There was now no time to be lost in rousing the family ; and all the haste that could be made was scarcely sufficient to hurry the venerable man from his bed, into a small recess behind the wainscot of an adjoining room, which was concealed by a bed, in which a lady, Miss Gordon of Towie, who was there on a visit, lay, before the soldiers obtained admission. A most minute search took place. The room in which lord Pitsligo was concealed did not escape. Miss Gordon's bed was carefully examined, and she was obliged to suffer the rude scrutiny of one of the party, by feeling her chin, to ascertain that it was not a man in a lady's night-dress. Before the soldiers had finished their examination in this room, the confinement and anxiety increased lord Pitsligo's asthma so much, and his breathing became so loud, that it cost Miss Gordon, lying in bed, much and violent coughing, which she counterfeited in order to prevent the high breathings behind the wainscot from being heard. It may easily be conceived what agony she would suffer, lest, by overdoing her part, she should increase suspicion, and, in fact, lead to a discovery. The *ruse* was fortunately successful. On the search through the house being given over, lord Pitsligo was hastily taken from his confined situation, and again placed in bed ; and as soon as he was able to speak, his accustomed kindness of heart made him say to his servant, ' James, go and see that these poor fellows get some breakfast, and a drink of warm ale, for this is a cold morning ; they are only doing their duty, and cannot bear me any ill will.' When the family were felicitating each other on his escape, he pleasantly observed, ' A poor prize, had they obtained it—an old dying man ? ' "

After this, he resided constantly at Auchiries, overlooked, or at least unmolested by the government, till the 21st of December, 1762, when he breathed his last in peace, in the 85th year of his age. He left behind him a work entitled, " Thoughts concerning Man's condition and duties in this life, and his hopes in the world to come,"—the production evidently of a calm and highly devotional mind, but nowise remarkable in other respects.

FORBES, DUNCAN, a man whose memory is justly entitled to the veneration of his country, was born at Bunchrew, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, on the 10th of November, 1685. His great-grandfather Duncan Forbes, was of the family of lord Forbes, through that of Tolquhoun, and purchased the barony of Culloden from the laird of Mackintosh, in 1625. His great-grandmother was Janet Forbes, of the family of Corsindy, also descended from lord Forbes. But this early patriot was not more distinguished for honourable descent, than for public spirit and nobility of conduct, during the struggle for religion and liberty that marked the reign of Charles I., in which he took a decided part against the court ; and, being a member of parliament, and lord provost of Inverness, must have been a partisan of no small consequence. He died in 1654, leaving his estate to his eldest son, John, who inherited his offices as well as his principles. Having acted in concert with the marquis of Argyle, he was, upon the Restoration, excepted from the act of indemnity, and had a large share of the barbarous inflictions which disgraced the reign of the restored despot. He somehow, however, contrived to accumulate money, and about the year 1670, doub-

led his landed estate by purchasing the barony of Ferintosh and the estate of Buncrev. He died a little before the Revolution, leaving, by his wife, Ann Dunbar, a daughter of Dunbar of Hemprigs, in the county of Moray, a large family, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Duncan, who had received a liberal education on the continent, by which he was eminently qualified for performing a conspicuous part in that most auspicious of modern transactions. He was a member of the convention parliament, a decided presbyterian, and strongly condemned those temporizing measures which clogged the wheels of government at the time, and in consequence of which many of the national grievances remained afterwards unredressed. He was, of course, highly obnoxious to the jacobites, who, under Buchan and Cannon, in 1689, ravaged his estates of Culloden and Ferintosh; destroying, particularly in the latter district, where distillation was even then carried on upon an extensive scale, property to the amount of fifty-four thousand pounds Scots. In consequence of this immense loss, the Scottish parliament granted him a perpetual license to distil, duty free, the whole grain that might be raised in the barony of Ferintosh, a valuable privilege, by which Ferintosh very soon became the most populous and wealthy district in the north of Scotland. He died in 1704, leaving, by his wife, Mary Innes, daughter to the laird of Innes, two sons; John, who succeeded him in his estates, and Duncan, the subject of this memoir, besides several daughters.

Of the early habits or studies of Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord president, little has been recorded. The military profession is said to have been the object of his first choice, influenced by the example of his uncle John Forbes, who was a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He had also an uncle eminent in the law, Sir David Forbes of Newhall, and, whether influenced by his example or not, we find that he entered upon the study of that science at Edinburgh, in the chambers of professor Spottiswood, in the year that his father died, 1704. The university of Edinburgh had as yet attained nothing of that celebrity by which it is now distinguished, its teachers being few in number, and by no means remarkable for acquirements; of course, all young Scotsmen of fortune, especially for the study of law, were sent to the continent. Bourges had long been famous for this species of learning, and at that university, Scotsmen had been accustomed to study. Leyden, however, had now eclipsed it, and at that famous seat of learning Duncan Forbes took up his residence in 1705. Here he pursued his studies for two years with the most unremitting diligence; having, besides the science of law, made no inconsiderable progress in the Hebrew and several other oriental languages. He returned to Scotland in 1707, where he continued the study of Scottish law till the summer of 1709, when he was, upon the 26th of July, admitted an advocate, being in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The closest friendship had all along subsisted between the families of Argyle and Culloden; and, the former, being at this time in the zenith of power, displayed its fidelity by bestowing upon Mr Forbes, as soon as he had taken his place at the bar, the respectable appointment of sheriff of Mid-Lothian. The duke, and his brother the earl of Hly, from the very outset of his career, intrusted him with the management of their Scottish estates, which he is said frankly to have undertaken, though, from professional delicacy, he declined receiving any thing in the shape of fee or reward, for services which ought to have brought him some hundreds a year.

Mr Forbes, from his first appearance at the bar, was distinguished for the depth of his judgment, the strength of his eloquence, and the extent of his practice, which was such as must have precluded him from performing anything like the duties of a mere factor, which the above statement evidently supposes. That

he gave his opinion, generally, when asked, upon the modes that ought to be adopted for improving the value of his grace's property, and the comfort of his vassals in the highlands, there can be no doubt; for he continued to do this, not only to the duke, but to his neighbours generally, even after the highest duties of the judge had devolved upon him; and this was probably the utmost extent of his concern with the Argyle estate at any period of his life. That he was in a high degree generous, there cannot be a doubt; but we see no reason for supposing that he was in the habit of employing his legal talents gratuitously. He was but a younger brother, and is said to have lost the greater part of his little patrimony by an unguarded or an unfortunate speculation; yet it is certain that he lived in a splendid and rather expensive manner, the first wits and the highest noblemen of the age finding their enjoyments heightened by his company; and it is equally certain that the fruits of his professional toil were all that he could depend upon for supporting a spirit that breathed nothing but honour, and a state that knew nothing but the most stubborn independence. His business, however, rapidly rose with his rising reputation, and his fortune probably kept pace with his fame, and he very soon added to his domestic felicity, by forming a matrimonial connexion with Mary Rose, daughter to the laird of Kilravock, to whom he had been warmly attached almost from her earliest infancy.¹ She was a lady of great beauty, and highly accomplished; but she died not long after their marriage, leaving him an only son, John, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Culloden. The early demise of this lady, for whom Mr Forbes seems to have had more than an ordinary passion, deeply affected him, and he never again entered into the married state.

Domestic calamity, operating upon a keen sensibility, has often withered minds of great promise, and cut off the fairest prospects of future usefulness. Happily, however, Mr Forbes did not resign himself to solitude, and the indulgence of unavailing sorrow. The circumstances of his family, and of his country, in both of which he felt a deep interest, did not, indeed, allow him to do so, had he been willing. The violence of party had been very great ever since the Revolution: it had latterly been heightened by the union, and had reached nearly its acme at this time, when the unexpected death of the queen opened the way for the peaceable accession of the new dynasty.

With a very few exceptions, such as the Grants, the Monroes, and the Rosses, who had been gained over by the Forbesees of Culloden, the Highland clans were engaged to devote their lives and fortunes in behalf of the expatriated house of Stuart; and only waited for an opportunity of asserting the cause of the pretender. The loyal clans, and gentlemen, and particularly Forbes of Culloden, were of course, highly obnoxious to the jacobite clans; and, for their own preservation, were obliged to be continually on the watch, and frequently saw the brooding of the storm, when others apprehended no danger. This was eminently the case in the year after the accession of the house of Brunswick; and, accordingly, so early as the month of February, we find Monro of Fowlis writing to Culloden:—"I find the jacobites are verie uppish, both in Edinburgh and in England, so that, if ye go to the parliament, as I hope ye will, you will recommend to some trusty, faithful friend, to take care of your house of Culloden, and leave orders with your people at Ferintosh, to receive directions from me, or from your cousin George (my son), as you are pleased to call him, which you may be sure will be calculate to the support of your interest, in subordination to the public cause;"—and he adds, in a postscript to the same letter,—"The vanity, insolence, arrogance, and madness of the jacobites,

¹ Her husband is said to have composed, in her honour, the beautiful Scottish song, "Ah Chloris."

is beyond all measure insupportable. I believe they must be let blood. They still have the trick of presuming upon the lenity of a moderate government. It seems God either destines them for destruction, or infatuates others to allow them to be pricks in our sides and thorns in our eyes. I have accounts from very good hands from Edinburgh, that to their certain knowledge, saddles were making in that city for dragoons to serve the pretender, and that all the popish lords, and very many popish and jacobite gentlemen, are assembled there now; so that all friends and loyal subjects to his present majesty, are advised to be upon their guard from thence, against an invasion or an insurrection, which is suddenly expected, which the jacobites expect will interrupt the meeting of the parliament." In the month of March, the same year, Culloden, writing to his brother, the subject of this memoir, has the following observation:—"You say you have no news, but we abound with them in this country. The pretender is expected every moment, and his friends all ready; but since our statesmen take no notice of this, I let it alone, and wishes they may not repent it when they cannot help it."—Culloden was returned for a member of parliament, and went up the following month (April) to London, whence he again writes to his brother as follows:—"As for your Highland neighbours, their trysts and meetings, I know not what to say; I wish we be not too secure: I can assure you, the tories here were never higher in their looks and hopes, which they found upon a speedy invasion. Whatever be in the matter, let things be so ordered that my house be not surprised."

Had those who were intrusted with the government been equally sharp-sighted, much of the evil that ensued might undoubtedly have been prevented; but they were so intent upon their places, and the pursuit of little, low intrigues, that they were caught by the insurrection, in Scotland at least, as if it had been a clap of thunder in a clear day. John Forbes's direction, however, must have been attended to; for, when his house was surrounded by the insurgents, under Mackenzie of Coul, and Mackintosh, with their retainers, his wife refused all accommodation with them, saying, with the spirit of an ancient Roman,—"she had received the keys of the house, and the charge of all that was in it, from her husband, and she would deliver them up to no one but himself." In the absence of his brother, Duncan Forbes displayed, along with Hugh Rose of Kilravock, the most indefatigable zeal, and great judgment in the disposal of the men they could command, who were chiefly the retainers of Culloden, Kilravock, Culcairn, and the Grants, and by the assistance of lord Lovat and the Frazers, finally triumphed over the insurgents in that quarter. Nothing, indeed, could excel the spirit displayed by the two brothers of Culloden, the eldest of whom, John, spent on the occasion, upwards of three thousand pounds sterling out of his own pocket, for the public service; of which, to the disgrace of the British government, he never received in repayment one single farthing.

Though they were ardent for the cause of religion and liberty, and zealous in the hour of danger, yet, when that was over, the two brothers strongly felt the impropriety of tarnishing the triumphs of order and liberality, by a violent and vindictive inquisition into the conduct of persons, for whom so many circumstances conspired to plead, if not for mercy, at least, for a candid construction of their motives. As a Scotsman and lawyer, Duncan Forbes was averse to the project of carrying the prisoners out of the country, to be tried by juries of foreigners, and he wrote to lord Hlay, when he heard of a design to appoint him lord advocate, in order to carry on these prosecutions, that he was determined to refuse that employment. He also wrote to his brother in behalf of a contribution for the poor prisoners who had been carried to Carlisle, and were there waiting for trial. "It is certainly christian," says he, "and by no means dis-

loyal, to sustain them in their indigent state until they are found guilty. The law has brought them to England to be tried by foreign juries—so far it is well—but no law can hinder a Scotsman to wish that his countrymen, not hitherto condemned, should not be a derision to strangers, or perish for want of necessary defence or sustenance out of their own country.” To the forfeitures he was also decidedly hostile, and some of his reasons for this hostility threw a particular light upon the state of Scotland at that period. “There are,” he says, “none of the rebels who have not friends among the king’s faithful subjects, and it is not easy to guess, how far a security of this kind, unnecessarily pushed, may alienate the affections, even of these from the government. But in particular, as this relates to Scotland, the difficulty will be insurmountable. I may venture to say, there are not two hundred gentlemen in the whole kingdom who are not very nearly related to some one or other of the rebels. Is it possible that a man can see his daughter, his grand children, his nephews, or cousins, reduced to beggary and starving unnecessarily by a government, without thinking very ill of it, and where this is the case of a whole nation, I tremble to think what dissatisfactions it will produce against a settlement so necessary for the happiness of Britain. If all the rebels, with their wives and children, and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution, than when thousands of innocents punished with misery and want, for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country sighing out their complaints to heaven, and drawing at once the compassion and moving the indignation of every human creature.” “To satisfy,” he adds, “any person that the forfeitures in Scotland will scarce defray the charges of the commission, if the saving clause in favours of the creditors takes place, I offer but two considerations that, upon enquiry, will be found incontestible. First, it is certain, that of all the gentlemen who launched out into the late rebellion, the tenth man was not easy in his circumstances, and if you abate a dozen of gentlemen, the remainder upon paying their debts could not produce much money clear, nor was there any thing more open to observation, than that the men of estates, however disaffected in their principles, kept themselves within the law, when at the same time men supposed loyal, in hopes of bettering their low fortunes, broke loose. Besides, it is known that the titles by which almost all the estates in Scotland are possessed are diligences upon debts affecting those estates purchased in the proprietors’ own name or in that of some trustee: now, it is certain, that when the commissioners of enquiry begin to seize such estates, besides the debts truly due to real creditors, such a number of latent debts will be trumped up, not distinguishable from the true ones by any else than the proprietors, as will make the inquiry fruitless and the commission a charge upon the treasury, as well as a nuisance to the nation.”

Such were the arguments, drawn from expediency, and the state of the country, by which forbearance on the part of the government was recommended by this excellent man, though it appears that they had little effect but to excite a suspicion of his own loyalty. In spite of all this, his character made him too powerful to be resisted. In 1716, he was rewarded for his services by the office of advocate-depute, that is, he became one of the inferior prosecutors for the crown. On the 20th of March, he is found writing thus to his principal, the lord advocate:—“Yesterday I was qualified, the Lord knows how, as your depute. The justice clerk shows a grim sort of civility towards me, because he finds me *plaguey stubborn*. I waited upon him, however, and on the other lords, to the end they might fix on a dyet for the tryall of the Episcopall clergy. The justice clerk does not smile on their prosecution, because it is not his own contrivance;

and declared it could not come on sooner than the first of June; but I told him that if, as I understood was designed, the May circuit were suspended this year by act of parliament, I would require his lordship to assign a dyet sooner." In 1722, with the acquiescence of the ministry, he was returned to sit in parliament for the Inverness district of burghs; and in 1725, he obtained the high and responsible appointment of lord advocate. As the office of secretary of state for Scotland was at this time discontinued, it became part of his duty to carry on, with his majesty's ministers, the correspondence regarding the improvements necessary to be made in her civil establishments, which he did, in a manner highly creditable to himself, and with the happiest effect for his country. The year in which he was appointed lord advocate, was marked by the introduction of the malt tax into Scotland, and the mob at Glasgow, known by the name of Shawfield's rabble, by which its introduction was attended. This was a riot of a very scandalous character, (the magistrates of the city being deeply implicated in fomenting it,) in which nine persons were killed outright, and the soldiers who had been brought from Edinburgh for its suppression, were chased out of the city, and were glad to take refuge in Dumbarton castle. General Wade, who was in Edinburgh at the time, on his way to the Highlands, was immediately ordered to Glasgow with all the troops he could muster, and he was accompanied by the lord advocate in person, who first committed the whole of the magistrates to their own tolbooth, and afterwards, under a strong guard, sent them to Edinburgh, where they were thrown into the common jail, and it was certainly intended to proceed against them before the justiciary court. Doubts, however, were entertained of the legality of the proceedings, and whether the lord advocate had not exceeded his powers in committing the whole magistracy of a city, upon the warrant of a justice of peace, to their own jail; public feeling at the same time recovering strongly in their favour, they were by the justiciary admitted to bail, nor was their case ever again called.

In 1734, he lost his brother, John Forbes, in consequence of whose death, he fell heir to the extensive and valuable estate of Culloden. In 1736, a disgraceful affair, termed the Porteous mob, occurred in Edinburgh, in consequence of which, it was resolved to deprive the city of her privileges. Mr Forbes, on this occasion, exerted himself to the utmost in behalf of the city, and was successful in procuring many modifications to be made upon the bill before it passed the two houses of parliament. When we contemplate the condition of Scotland in those days, we scarcely know whether to wonder most at the good which Forbes was able to achieve, or the means by which he accomplished it. The period might properly be called the dark age of Scottish history, though it contained at the same time, the germs of all the good that has since sprung up in the land. The pretensions of the house of Stuart were universally received, either with favour from direct affection to their cause, or at least without disfavour, the result of a justifiable disgust at the political status into which the country had been thrown by the union, and the unpopularity of the two first Brunswick princes. The commencement of a strict system of general taxation was new; while the miserable poverty of the country rendered it unproductive and unpopular. The great families still lorded it over their dependants, and exercised legal jurisdiction within their own domains, by which the general police of the kingdom was crippled, and the grossest local oppression practised. The remedy adopted for all these evils, which was to abate nothing, and to enforce everything, under the direction of English counsels and of Englishmen, completed the national wretchedness, and infused its bitterest ingredient into the brimful cup. How Forbes got his views or his character amidst such a scene, from the very heart of the very worst part of which he came, it is difficult to conceive;

for with only one or two occasional exceptions, his papers prove that he had scarcely an associate, either in his patriotic toils or enjoyments.¹ However, it is sometimes true in the political, as it generally is in the commercial world, that supply is created by demand; and the very degradation of the country held out an immense reward to the man who should raise it up. No man, especially the hired servant of a disputed monarchy, could have achieved this work, except one whose heart was as amiable as his judgment was sound, and whose patriotism was as pure as it was strong. Forbes cultivated all these qualities, and not only directed the spirit of the nation, but conciliated its discordant members with a degree of skill that was truly astonishing.

The leading objects of his official and parliamentary life were suggested to him by the necessities of the country, and they are thus ably summed up in the work just quoted:—

1. To extinguish the embers of rebellion, by gaining over the jacobites. He did not try to win them, however, in the ordinary way in which alleged rebels are won; but by showing them what he called the *folly* of their designs, by seeking their society, by excluding them from no place for which their talents or characters gave them a fair claim, and, above all, by protecting them from proscription. It is delightful to perceive how much this policy, equally the dictate of his heart and of his head, made him be consulted and revered even by his enemies; and how purely he kept his private affections open to good men, and especially to old friends, in spite of all political acrimony or alienation. He derived from this habit one satisfaction, which seems to have greatly diverted him, that of being occasionally abused by both sides, and sometimes suspected of secret jacobitism by his own party.

2. Having thus, by commanding universal esteem as an upright and liberal man, enabled himself to do something for the country at large, his next object seems to have been, to habituate the people to the equal and regular control of the laws. It may appear at first sight unnecessary or inglorious to have been reduced to labour for an end so essential and obvious in all communities as this. But the state of Scotland must be recollected. The provincial despotism of the barons was common and horrid. Old Lovat, for example, more than once writes to him, as lord advocate, not to trouble himself about certain acts of violence done in his neighbourhood, because he was very soon to take vengeance with his own hands.

Nor was this insubordination confined to individuals or to the provinces, for it seems to have extended to the capital, and to have touched the seats of justice. There is a letter from Forbes to Mr Scroope, in the year 1732, in which he complains “that it would surely provoke any man living, as it did me, to see the last day of our term in exchequer. The effect of every verdict we recovered from the crown, stooped upon the triflingest pretences that false popularity and want of sense could suggest. If some remedy be not found for this evil we must shut up shop. It’s a pity, that when we have argued the juries out of their mistaken notions of popularity, the behaviour of the court should give any handle to their relapsing.” He persevered to prevent this by argument, and by endeavouring to get the laws, especially those concerning the revenue, altered, so as to be less unacceptable to the people.

It is chiefly on account of his adherence to this principle, that it is important to notice this subject as a distinct part of his system. If he had been disposed to govern, as is usual in turbulent times, by mere force, he had pretences enough to have made scarlet uniforms deform every hamlet in the kingdom.—But, ex-

¹ We here pursue a train of remarks in the *Edinburgh Review* of the Culloden papers, an ample collector of the letters, &c. of the lord president, published in 1816.

cept when rebellion or riot were raging, we cannot discover, from his papers, that he ever, on any one occasion, required any other assistance, except the ordinary authority of which law is always possessed, when administered fairly. He rigidly investigated, though he did not severely punish, popular outrages; but he was unsparing in his prosecution of the provincial injustice, by which the people were generally oppressed. The consequence of this was, that he not only introduced a comparative state of good order, but made his name a sanction, that whatever he proposed was right—and that in him the injured was sure to find a friend. When Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman, who was engaged in a mining concern in Glengarry, (and who by the bye is said to have been the first person who introduced the philibeg into the highlands), had two of his servants murdered by the natives there, the lord advocate was the only individual to whom it ever occurred to him to apply for protection. But his power in thus taming the people, can only be fairly estimated, by perceiving how universally he was feared by the higher ranks, as the certain foe of all sorts of partial, sinister, unfair, or illiberal projects. Few men ever wrote, or were written to, with less idea of publication than he. His correspondence has only come accidentally to light about seventy years after his death. Yet we have not been able to detect a single one of his advices or proceedings, by the exposure of which, even a private gentleman, of the most delicate honour, and the most reasonable views, would have cause to feel a moment's uneasiness. On the contrary, though living in ferocious times—in public life—the avowed organ of a party—and obliged to sway his country, by managing its greatest and greediest families, he uniformly maintains that native gentleness and fairness of mind with which it is probable that most of the men, who are afterwards hardened into corruption, begin, and resolve to continue, their career. How many other public men are there, of whose general correspondence above 500 letters could be published indiscriminately, without alarming themselves if they were alive, or their friends if they were dead?

Having thus freed himself from the shackles of party, and impressed all ranks with a conviction of the necessity of sinking their subordinate contests in a common respect for the law, his next great view seems to have been, to turn this state of security to its proper account, in improving the trade and agriculture of the kingdom. Of these two sources of national wealth, the last seems to have engaged the smallest portion of his attention; and it was perhaps natural that it should do so. For, though agriculture precedes manufactures in the order of things, yet, for this very reason, that the cultivation of the land has gone on for ages, it is only in a more advanced era of refinement, that the attention of legislators is called to the resources it supplies, and the virtues it inspires. But projectors are immediately attracted towards improvements in manufactures, which are directly convenient by employing industry, and highly captivating, because their commencement and growth can be distinctly traced; so that they appear more the result of preparation and design than agriculture does; as to which, one generation seems only to follow the example of another, in passively taking what the scarcely assisted powers of nature give. Several efforts at trade had been made by Scotland before Forbes appeared; but it was both the cause and the evidence of the national poverty, that, slender as they were, they had failed, and that their failure almost extinguished the commercial hopes of the people. He was no sooner called into public life, than he saw what trade, chiefly internal, could do, by giving employment to the hordes of idlers who infested the country, by interesting proprietors in the improvement of their estates, and by furnishing the means both of paying and of levying taxes, and thereby consolidating the whole island into one compact body, instead of keeping the northern part a burden on the southern.

His exertions in prosecution of this great object were long and unceasing. We cannot enter here into any details; and therefore, we shall only state, in general, that he appears to have made himself master of the nature and history of almost every manufacture, and to have corresponded largely, both with the statesmen, the philosophers, and the merchants of his day, about the means of introducing them into Scotland. The result was, that he not only planted the roots of those establishments which are now flourishing all over the country, but had the pleasure (as he states in a memorial to government) of seeing "a commendable spirit of launching out into new branches" excited. He was so successful in this way, that the manufactures of Scotland are called, by more than one of his correspondents, "his ain bairns;"—an expression which he himself uses in one of his letters to Mr Scroope, in which he says that one of his proposals "was disliked by certain chiefs, from its being a child of mine."

Notwithstanding the immense good which he thus accomplished, and the great judgment and forbearance he evinced in pushing his improvements, it is amusing to observe the errors into which he fell, with respect to what are now some of the clearest principles of taxation, and of political economy. These, in general, were the common errors of too much regulation; errors, which it requires the firmest hold of the latest discoveries in these sciences to resist, and which were peculiarly liable to beset a man, who had been obliged to do so much himself in the way of direction and planning. One example may suffice—being the strongest we have been able to find. In order to encourage agriculture, by promoting the use of malt, he presented to government a long detailed scheme, for preventing, or rather punishing, the use of tea.

"The cause," says he, "of the mischief we complain of, is evidently the excessive use of tea; which is now become so common, that the meanest families, even of labouring people, particularly in burroughs, make their morning's meal of it, and thereby wholly disuse the ale, which heretofore was their accustomed drink: and the same drug supplies all the labouring women with their afternoon's entertainments, to the exclusion of the twopenny."

The remedy for this, is, to impose a prohibitory duty on tea, and a penalty on those who shall use this seducing poison, "if they belong to that class of mankind in this country, whose circumstances do not permit them to come at tea that pays the duty." The obvious difficulty attending this scheme strikes him at once; and he removes it by a series of provisions, calculated to describe those who are within the tea line, and those who are beyond it. The essence of the system is, that when any person is suspected, "the *onus probandi* of the extent of his yearly income may be laid on him;" and that his own oath may be demanded, and that of the prosecutor taken. "These provisions," the worthy author acknowledges, "are pretty severe;" and most of his readers may be inclined to think them pretty absurd. But it must be recollected, that he is not the only person, (especially about his own time, when the first duty of a statesman was to promote the malt tax), who has been eloquent and vituperative on the subject of this famous plant. Its progress, on the contrary, has been something like the progress of truth; suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land, from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and restless efforts of time, and its own virtues. Nor are the provisions for enforcing his scheme so extraordinary as may at first sight appear. The object of one half of our existing commercial regulations, is to insure the use of our own produce, and the encouragement of our own industry; and his personal restrictions, and domiciliary visits, are utterly harmless, when compared with many excise regula-

tions of the present day ; and still more so, when contrasted with certain parts of the recent system for levying the tax upon property. We have noticed this example, chiefly for the sake of showing that Forbes's views were as sound upon these subjects, as those of the persons by whom he has been succeeded ; and that, if we could oftener withdraw our eyes from the objects of their habitual contemplation, we should oftener see the folly of many things which appear to us correct, merely because they are common.

Being appointed president of the court of session in 1737, he applied himself with great zeal to a duty which has conferred lasting service on his country, that of improving the regulations of his court. Previously, the chief judge, by having it in his power to postpone a cause, or to call it at his pleasure, was enabled sometimes to choose a particular time for its decision, when certain judges whom he knew to have made up their minds, were absent. Forbes put an end to this flagrant error in the constitution of the court, by rendering it impossible for the judges to take up a case except as it stood on the roll. He also exerted himself to prevent any accumulation of undetermined causes.

The character of the highlanders and the improvement of the highlands, had all along been objects of the first magnitude with the lord president, nor did he lose sight of them, when his elevation to the first place in Scottish society brought him to be conversant with others equally important. Viewing the aspect of the political horizon, and aware that the clans in such times as appeared to be approaching, could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of political agitators, he digested a plan (the very same for which Chatham received so much applause for carrying into effect), for embodying the most disaffected of them into regiments, under colonels of tried loyalty, but officered by their own chieftains, who would thus be less liable to be tampered with by the emissaries of the Stuarts, and be insensibly led to respect an order of things which, it might be presumed, they disliked, chiefly because they did not comprehend it, and from which as yet they did not suppose they had derived any benefit. This proposal the lord president communicated to the lord justice clerk, Milton, who reported it to lord Hays, by whom it was laid before Sir Robert Walpole, who at once comprehended and admired it. When, however, he laid it before the council, recommending it to be carried into immediate effect, the council declared unanimously against it. "Were the plan of the Scottish judge," said they, "adopted, what would the patriots say? Would they not exclaim, Sir Robert Walpole had all along a design upon the constitution? He has already imposed upon us a standing army, in addition to which he is now raising an army of barbarians, for the sole purpose of enslaving the people of England." Walpole was too well acquainted with the temper of the patriots, as they called themselves, not to feel the full force of this reasoning, and the measure was given up, though he was fully convinced that it was conceived in wisdom, and would have been infallibly successful in its operation.

Though his advice was neglected, the event showed that his suspicions were well founded. The disturbed state of Europe encouraged the jacobites, particularly in the highlands, to sign an association for the restoration of the pretender, which was sent to him at Rome, in the year 1742. During the following years, there was a perpetual passing and repassing between the court of France, the pretender, and the association, without the knowledge of the most vigilant observers on the part of the government. So cautiously, indeed, did the highland chieftains conduct themselves, that even the lord president, who was intimately acquainted with their characters and propensities, seems to have been perfectly unaware of any immediate rising, when he was acquainted by a letter from Macleod of Macleod, that Charles was actually arrived, and had by

young Clanronald summoned himself and Sir Alexander Macdonald to join his standard. The truth was, both Macleod and Macdonald had pledged themselves to prince Charles; but a French army to accompany him, and military stores, were positive parts of the engagement, which, not being fulfilled, led them to hesitate, and they were willing to fortify their hesitation by the advice of the president, whom they had long found to be an excellent counsellor, and whose views upon the subject they were probably anxious in a covert way to ascertain. Macleod of course wrote to the president, that such a person was on the coast, with so many Irish or French officers, stating them greatly beyond the real number, and he adds, "His views, I need not tell you, was to raise all the highlands to assist him—Sir Alexander Macdonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours, to follow the same prudent method, and I am persuaded we have done it with that success, that not a man north of the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt—As it can be of no use to the public to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us; but this we leave in your own breast as you are a much better judge of what is or what is not proper to be done. I have wrote to none other, and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly—Sir Alexander is here and has seen this scrawl—Young Clanronald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence." The above letter was dated August 3d, 1745, and speaks of Charles as only on the coast, though he had in reality landed, and the assurance of young Clanronald's prudence was a perfect farce. It was indeed, for obvious reasons, the aim of the rebels to lull the friends of government in their fatal security, and we have no doubt that Clanronald acting upon this principle, gave the assurance to Macleod and Macdonald for the very purpose of being communicated to the lord president, and it has been supposed that the misstatements in this letter laid the foundation for that pernicious counsel which sent Sir John Cope to the north, leaving the low country open to Charles, in consequence of which he overcame at once the most serious difficulties he had to contend with, want of provisions and want of money, made himself master of the capital of Scotland, and, to the astonishment of himself, as well as of all Europe, penetrated into the very heart of England.

Being now certain that there was danger, though its extent was cautiously concealed from him, the lord president, after pointing out to the marquis of Tweeddale, who at that time was a principal manager in Scottish affairs, a few things necessary to be done in order to give full effect to his exertions, hastened to the north, and arrived at Culloden house on the 13th of August, six days before Charles unfurled his standard in Glenfinnin, and while many of his most devoted admirers were yet at a great loss whether to come forward to his assistance, or to remain undeclared till circumstances should enable them more accurately to calculate probabilities. To all these nothing could have been more unwelcome than the presence of the lord president, to whom they, almost to a man, were under personal obligations. Lovat waited upon and dined with his lordship the very day after his arrival, and requested his advice, assuring him that his wishes, as well as his interest, still led him to support the present royal family. Macleod of Macleod and Sir Alexander Macdonald of Skye also wrote to him, immediately on his arrival, in a loyal strain, though their presence was certainly expected at the unfurling of the insurgent standard at Glenfinnin, which was so soon to take place. The letters are not so very explicit as might have been wished, and, till the advice and the presence of the

lord president encouraged them, these gentlemen were undoubtedly not cordial for the government. Lovat most certainly was not, and had Charles, according to his advice, come east by Inverness, he would no doubt have joined him on the instant. But the clans having rushed down into the Lowlands, while Sir John Cope, with the whole regular troops that were in Scotland, came north, added weight to the lord president's remonstrances, and for a time neutralized all who were not previously committed, till the unfortunate affair of Gladsmuir gave a new impulse to their hopes. Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod were assured by a special messenger, that their past conduct was not imputed to any want of zeal for the cause or want of affection to the person of Charles, who considered their services to be now more useful to him than ever, and was ready to receive them as his best friends. Lovat had a message of the same kind, and, sure that now his right master, as he called him, would prevail, set himself to forward the marching of his Frasers without delay. Still he continued his correspondence with the president, and laboured hard to keep up the farce of loyalty, as did Macleod of Macleod, at the very moment when he was pledging his faith to that arch hypocrite to send his Macleods to join the Frasers, the Mackintoshes and the Mackenzies at Corryarrack, within a given number of days. Happily for Macleod, he was greatly under the influence of Sir Alexander Macdonald, whose judgment the lord president had completely opened upon the subject, and he not only did not fulfil his engagement with Lovat, but actually raised and headed his men to fight on the opposite side.

The Frasers, in the mean time, formed a scheme for seizing upon the house of Culloden, and either killing or making the president a prisoner. The execution of this plot was intrusted to the laird of Foyers, who made the attempt on the night of Tuesday, the 15th of October, the day when the clans were engaged upon honour to assemble at the pass of Corryarrack, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of Charles at Edinburgh. The president, however, who, had arms been his profession, would probably have been as celebrated a soldier as he was a lawyer, knew his situation, and the men he lived among, better than to suffer himself to be so surprised. The castle itself was naturally strong; several pieces of cannon were planted upon its rampart; and it was occupied by a garrison, able and willing to defend it; so that, leaving behind them one of their number wounded, the assailants were obliged to content themselves with carrying off some sheep and cattle, and robbing the gardener and the house of an honest weaver, who, it would appear, lived under the protection of the president. Like all other projectors of wicked things which fail in the execution, Lovat seems to have been very much ashamed of this affair, and he was probably the more so, that the Macleods, the Macdonalds, &c., who, that same day, were to have joined his clan at Corryarrack, had not only not kept their word, but were actually on the road to take their orders from the president, which compelled him once more to send, in place of troops, an apology to Charles, with an abundance of fair promises, in which he was at all times sufficiently liberal. The president had assured him, that, by killing and eating his sheep in broad daylight, the men who had made the attack upon his house were all known, but that if they did no more harm he forgave them; only he wished they would send back the poor gardener and weaver their things, and if they sent not back the tenant his cattle, they knew he must pay for them. Lovat, with well-affected concern, and high eulogiums upon his lordship's goodness, declares the actors in this villanous attempt to have been ruffians without the fear of God or man, and that he has ordered his son and Gortuleg to send back all the plunder, particularly his lordship's sheep, which he was ready to give double value

for, rather than that his lordship should want them, and, in case they should not be found, offered to divide with him one hundred fat wedders, seeing that he was under greater obligations to him and his family than all the sheep, oxen, cows, and horses, he ever possessed, were worth; "And I beg, my lord," he adds, "that you may not be in the least apprehensive that any of those rogues, or any in my country go and disturb your tenants, for I solemnly swore to Gortuleg that, if any villain or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your lordship's tenants, I would go personally, though carried in a litter, and *see them seized and hanged*. So, my dear lord, I beg you may have no apprehension that any of your tenants will meet with disturbance, so long as I live in this country; and I hope that my son that represents me will follow my example, so let monarchies, government, and commonwealths, take up fits of revolutions and wars, for God's sake, my dear lord, let us live in good friendship and peace together." It was but a short time when, after the retreat from England, Charles was met at Glasgow by a messenger from Lovat, requesting him to send north a party to seize Inverness, and, if possible, secure the lord president, who, he affirmed, had done him more harm than any man living, having, by his influence, prevented more than ten thousand men from joining him. Circumstances of another kind than Lovat's advice or request, brought Charles to Inverness, and the lord president, along with lord Loudon, was under the necessity of taking refuge in the island of Skye, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden, when he returned to reap, as many other good men have done, neglect and ingratitude for all his services. Of these services and of this neglect, the reader will not be displeased to find the following graphic description from his own pen. It is a letter to Mr George Ross, then at London, inclosing letters on the same subject to Mr Pelham, Mr Scroope, and the duke of Newcastle, date, Inverness, May 13th, 1746.

"Dear George, my peregrinations are now over. Some account of my adventures you surely have had from different hands; to give an exact one is the work of more time than I can at present afford. The difficulties I had to struggle with were many; the issue, on the main, has been favourable; and, upon a strict review, I am satisfied with my own conduct. I neither know nor care what critics, who have enjoyed ease, in safety, may think. The commissions for the independent companies I disposed of in the way that, to me, seemed the most frugal and profitable to the public; the use they have already been of to the public is very great, preventing any accession of strength to the rebels, before they marched into England, was no small service; the like prevention, in some degree, and the distraction of their forces, when the duke was advancing, was of considerable use; and now they are, by the duke, employed, under the command of E. Loudon, in Glengarry, and must be the hands by which the rebels are to be hunted in their recesses. My other letter of this date gives the reason why the returns of the officers' names, &c. was not sooner made. I hope the certificate will be sufficient to put them upon the establishment, and to procure the issuing of money for them. The returns of the several companies in the military way E. Loudon will take care of. What distressed us most in this country, and was the real cause why the rebels came to head after their flight from Stirling, was the want of arms and money, which, God knows, had been enough called for and expected. Had these come in time, we could have armed a force sufficient to have prevented them looking at us on this side Drumachter. The men were prepared, several hundreds assembled in their own counties, and some hundreds actually on the march; but unluckily the ship that brought the few arms that were sent, and the sum of money that came, did not arrive in our road sooner than the very day on which

the rebels made themselves master of the barrack of Ruthven. It was then too late to fetch unarmed men from distances, it was even unsafe to land the arms and the money; so we were forced to suffer them remain on board and to retreat with the force we had to preserve them for the further annoyance of the enemy. Another ill consequence, the scrimping us of money had, was that,—as there were a great many contingent services absolutely necessary, and as all the money that could be raised upon lord Loudon's credit and mine was not sufficient to answer these extraordinary services,—we were obliged to make free with the cash remitted for the subsistence of the companies. This at the long run will come out as broad as it is long when accounts are made up and allowances made for the contingent expense, but in the meantime it saddles us with the trouble of settling and passing an account.

“If any one will reflect on the situation I was in, and consider what I had to do, he will soon be convinced that the expense I laid out could not be small. So far as I could command money of my own, you will easily believe it was employed without hesitation; and of that I say nothing at present. But when the expedient proposed by the marquis of Tweeddale of taking bills to be drawn on Mr Pelham failed, I had no resource but to take up money where I could find it, from well disposed persons, on my own proper notes. That money so picked up was at the time of great service; and now that peace is restored, the gentlemen with great reason expect to be repaid. You can guess how ill I like a dun, and I should hope now that the confusions are over, there can be no great difficulty in procuring me a remittance, or leave to draw upon Mr Pelham or some other proper person, to the extent of the sum thus borrowed, which does not exceed one thousand five hundred pounds sterling.—— I am heartily tired of this erratic course I have been in, but as the prevention of any future disturbance, is a matter of great moment, and which requires much deliberation and some skill, if those on whom it lies to frame the scheme, for that purpose, imagine I can be of any use to them, I should not grudge the additional fatigue of another journey; but it is not improbable their resolutions may be already taken,” &c. There is in this letter an honest feeling, and a frankly expressed conviction of the value of his services; and though possessed with a prophetic anticipation of their being latterly to be overlooked, an equally open and straight forwardly expressed determination to continue them as long as they should be useful to his country, strongly indicative of that high minded devotion to the best interests of his species, which peculiarly characterized this great man. At the same time, there is manifested the most delicate feeling with regard to the money part of the transaction. What portion, and that was a large one, had been advanced from his own treasury he makes for the present no account of; but he pleads in the most gentlemanly manner in behalf of those who had assisted him at the time, and could scarcely be expected to have the same disinterested regard to the public service, and the same degree of philosophic patience. They expect with reason, he remarks, to be paid, and he interposes in the most delicate manner, his own repugnance to be dunned, as the most pressing of all arguments in their favour. Surely never was so small a request, and so exceedingly well founded, so modestly prepared, yet never perhaps did a reasonable one meet with a more careless reception. Upwards of a month elapsed before he had an answer from George Ross, with a bill for five hundred pounds, which perhaps was not for his own use. It has been generally said that he never received one farthing, and to his generous spirit, if he received only this small portion, which we dare not affirm he did, taken in connexion with the manner in which he did receive it, it must have been nearly, if not more mortifying than if he had not. His grace of Now-

castle took no notice of his letter till he was under the necessity of writing to him upon another subject, two months afterwards, and then in the most cold and formal manner imaginable. Of any reply from Pelham and Scroope we have not found a vestige, and would fondly hope that courtiers as they were, they had so much grace remaining as to be unable to put pen to paper upon a business so disgraceful.

To a mind so pure and so gentle as was that of president Forbes, this ingratitude on the part of the government must have been exceedingly painful; but we do not believe that it was the only or the principal thing that weighed down his spirit. To the morality of courts and the gratitude of courtiers he was in theory at least no stranger, and as a prudent and practical man, must have been in some measure prepared to grapple with them; but for the base duplicity and the ingratitude of his friends and neighbours, many of whom had betrayed his confidence in the grossest manner, he could scarcely be prepared, and they must have affected him deeply. These, while they wrung his heart with the most pungent feelings of sorrow, furnished to the ignorant, the suspicious, and the envious, fruitful topics of detraction and misrepresentation, against which, he must have been aware, the best intentions and the most upright actions have too often been found to afford no protection. The care of the highlands had been imposed upon him for many years, he had been a father and a friend to almost every principal family they contained, and with few exceptions, these families had in return made the strongest professions of loyalty to the government, and of friendship and affection to himself. This they had done too, with such apparent sincerity, as induced him to report them perfectly loyal, at the very moment they were signing associations, purchasing arms, and ready to appear in the field against the government. How must he have felt to see the very men he had saved from total destruction, procured them the favourable notice of the government, and even high and honourable situations, rushing, from mistaken views of their own or their country's interests, upon the ruin of both! It was this, we have no doubt, gave the secret but incurable wound, which, though he continued to perform the duties of his station with inflexible firmness, and with imperturbable patience, brought him by slow degrees to an untimely grave.

Though the lord president continued to discharge his office with his usual fidelity and diligence, and though he uttered no complaints, it had long been matter of grief to his friends to observe his health rapidly declining, and in the month of November, it was judged necessary to send for his son from England, who arrived only in time to receive his last advice and blessing. He died on the 10th day of December, 1747, in the sixty-second year of his age. The same day he died, the following memorandum was made by his son: "My father entered into the everlasting life of God, trusting, hoping, and believing through the blood of Christ, eternal life and happiness. When I first saw my father upon the bed of death, his blessing and prayer to me was—'My dear John, you have just come in time to see me die. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! You have come to a very poor fortune; partly through my own extravagance, and partly through the oppression of power. I am sure you will forgive me, because what I did was with a good intention. I know you to be an honest hearted lad. Andrew Mitchell loves you affectionately; he will advise you, and do what he can for you. I depend upon Scroope, too, which you may let him know. I will advise you never to think of coming into parliament. I left some notes with the two William Forbesees in case I had not seen you. They are two affectionate lads, and will be able to help you in some affairs better than you would have done

yourself. John Hossack will help you in your affairs in the north. My heart bleeds for poor John Steel; I recommended him to you. When I was in the north I paid some considerably large sums that I never dreamed of before, towards defraying the charges occasioned by the rebellion. There is but one thing I repent me of in my whole life,—not to have taken better care of you. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! I trust in the blood of Christ. Be always religious, fear and love God. You may go, you can be of no service to me here.” This shows how deeply this first of patriots felt the unrequited sacrifices he had made for his country, though he had never allowed these feelings to interfere with the discharge of his public duties. His fears were certainly not without foundation, for his estate, in consequence of the sacrifices he had made, was encumbered with debts to the amount of thirty thousand pounds sterling; and for several years after his death, there did not appear to be any possibility of going on with it, but by selling the one half to preserve the other. Matters, however, proceeded at Culloden much better than was expected. In 1749, the government bestowed a pension of four hundred pounds sterling a-year upon John Forbes, the lord president’s son, a worthy man, but possessed of no great talents for public business; and warned by the example, and profiting by the prudent advice of his father, he spent his days in retirement, probably with a higher enjoyment of life than if he had been surrounded with all the splendours of the most exalted station, and in less than thirty years, had not only cleared his estate of all encumbrances, but added to it considerably, by the purchase of contiguous lands, and thus, in his case, were verified the words of inspiration, “The good man is merciful and lendeth, and his seed is blessed.”

Though the signal services of the lord president Forbes were overlooked by those who ought most highly to have esteemed them, and whose proper province it was to have rewarded them, they were not lost sight of by his grateful countrymen, all of whom seem to have regarded his death as a national calamity. He had been a public character upwards of thirty years, during which, scarcely one motion had been made for the public benefit but what had originated with, or had received its most powerful support from him. In the infant manufactures of his country he took unceasing interest, and his upright and pure spirit breathed into her tribunals of justice an order and an equitable impartiality to which they were before total strangers, and which to this day happily never has forsaken them. Besides the new order of court, as to the hearing of causes, which he had the merit of introducing, and which has been already alluded to, he wrought great and happy changes in the manner of the judges. Before his time, the senators often delivered their opinions with a warmth that was highly indecorous, detracting greatly from the dignity of the court and the weight and authority of its decisions: this, by the candour, the strict integrity, and the nice discernment, combined with that admirable command of temper, which marked his character, he was enabled completely to overcome, and to introduce in its place a dignified urbanity and a gentlemanly deference among the members of court to the opinions of each other, which succeeding lords president have found no difficulty to sustain.

The following character has been drawn of him by a late historian, with which we shall conclude this memoir. “In person, the lord president Forbes was elegant and well formed, his countenance open and animated, his manner dignified, but easy and prepossessing. His natural talents were of the very first order, enlarged by an excellent education, completely disciplined and fully matured by habits of intense study, and of minute, and at the same time extensive observation; and they were all employed most honourably and con-

scientifically in the real business of life. His learning was profound and extensive, beyond that of his compeers; and, in forcible, manly, and persuasive eloquence at the Scottish bar, he had no competitor. Yet with all this vast and visible superiority, he was never dogmatical. His was not the paltry ambition that could gratify itself by uttering tiny conceits or sparkling witticisms; nor did he ever, like too many who have shone in his profession, attempt to dispose of an unmanageable subject by heaping upon it a mountain of words, or enveloping it in a whirlwind of bombast and nonsense; every thing like artifice he held in abhorrence; and truth and justice being at all times the objects he aimed at, the law of kindness was ever on his lips, and an impress of candour and sincerity gave an oracular dignity to every sentiment which he uttered. Of the volume of inspiration, which he could consult with advantage in the original tongues, he was a diligent student; and that he had experienced its transforming influence in no mean degree was evident from the tone of his mind, and the whole tenor of his life and conversation. Like another of Scotland's most eminent benefactors, John Knox,—with whom alone, from the magnitude and for the difficulty of his services, though they were considerably dissimilar, he deserves to be compared—he probably felt himself called upon rather for active personal exertion than for those efforts of mind, which can be well and successfully made only in the seclusion of the closet, and through the medium of the press; of course his writings are not numerous, but they exhibit, particularly his *Thoughts on Religion, Natural and Revealed*, strong traces of a pure, a pious, and an original mind. In private life he was every thing that is amiable—as a husband and a father, affectionately tender—as a friend, generous in the extreme, often distressing himself that he might fully and seasonably perform the duties implied in the character. His neighbours he was always ready to oblige; and merit of every description found in him a prompt, a steady, and a disinterested patron. He was sprung from a family whose hospitality had been proverbial for ages; and when his health, which was generally delicate, and his numerous avocations would permit, few men could enjoy a bottle and a friend with a more exquisite relish. To be of his party, in these moments of relaxation, was a felicity eagerly coveted by the greatest and the wittiest men of his age; and to sum up all in one word, such was the sterling worth of his character, that he was universally feared by the bad, and as universally loved by the good of all parties.”

FORBES, PATRICK, an eminent prelate, was by birth laird of Corse and O'Neil, in Aberdeenshire, and descended from Sir Patrick Forbes, (third son of James, second lord Forbes,) armour-bearer to king James II., from whom, in 1482, he got a charter of the barony of O'Neil. From the same branch of the noble family of Forbes are descended the Forbeses, baronets of Craignievar, and the Forbeses, earls of Granard, in Ireland. The subject of this memoir was born in 1564, and received the rudiments of his education under Thomas Buchanan (nephew of the author of the *History of Scotland*), who was then schoolmaster of Stirling. He next studied philosophy under Andrew Melville at Glasgow, and when that eminent reformer and learned man was removed to be principal of St Andrews, Forbes followed him thither, and was his pupil in Hebrew and theology. Such was the progress he made in these studies, and such his gravity, wisdom, and blamelessness of life, that at an uncommonly early age he was solicited to become a professor in the college. His father, however, suddenly recalled his son, in order that he might settle in life as a country gentleman; and he soon after married Lucretia Spens, daughter of David Spens of Wormiston, in Fife. He lived for some time in rural retirement near Montrose, where his learning and piety attracted a great concourse

of visitors, especially of the clergy. At the death of his father, he removed hence to the family seat of Corse, where, to use the quaint phrase of his Latin biographer, Garden, he at once cultivated his books and his fields, regularly performing the duties of a clergyman every Sunday, before his domestics.

At the time when Patrick Forbes entered into public life, the reformed church of Scotland had not settled down into any regular system of ecclesiastical polity, and sometimes things were allowed to be done which would now be considered as at least eccentric, if not indecent. At the same time, the profession of a clergyman, though holding forth little pecuniary advantage, was invested with so much popular power, as to be highly inviting. We hence find, in the instances of Erskine of Dun, Bruce of Kinnaird, and others, that it had temptations even for gentlemen of good estates. It appears that, in the loose system of polity then acted upon, the laird of Corse, merely because he was a devout man, and possessed of some territorial influence, was repeatedly intreated to perform the duties of a clergyman, as if it had been supposed that any little deficiency in point of clerical ordination, that could be urged against him, would be fully compensated by his weight as the laird of Corse. He accordingly did act temporarily as a minister, during the time when the clergymen who had attended the prescribed general assembly at Aberdeen in 1605, were suffering exile from their parishes. Instead of this exciting episcopal interference, we are told that Patrick Blackburn, bishop of Aberdeen, no sooner heard of the excellent ministrations of the laird of Corse, than he, in concurrence with the synod of his diocese, intreated him to take ordination, and become the minister of his own parish. Although this request was made oftener than once, Forbes steadily resisted it, alleging as a reason his sense of the weight of the priestly office and of the difficulty of the times. These things, however, being conveyed by some malevolent person to the ear of the primate, (Gladstones, archbishop of St Andrews,) that dignitary sent an order, prohibiting Corse from preaching any more until he should take ordination. Having no alternative, the laird returned to his former practice of family worship, attending the church every Sunday as a private individual, and afterwards exercising upon a portion of the Scriptures before his servants. He went on thus for seven years, and was so far from exciting schism by his ill-meant exertions, that no one in the neighbourhood was a more regular or respectful attender upon parochial ordinances. At length, the neighbouring gentlemen and even the clergy frequented the family worship at Corse, where they heard most able elucidations of the epistles of St Paul, and also those commentaries on the Revelations, of which an abridgment was afterwards published.

At the end of the period alluded to, the minister of Keith, though a pious and worthy man, fell into a fit of melancholy, and, after suffering for some time, made an attempt upon his own life. He had hardly inflicted the fatal wound, when he was overtaken by deep remorse, and, having sent for the laird of Corse, was immediately attended by that devout man, who proceeded to reason with him in so earnest a manner as to open his soul fully to a sense of spiritual influences. The unfortunate man, with his dying breath, renewed the request which had so often been proffered to Forbes, that he would consent to undertake the pastoral charge of the parish; which request, taking place under such impressive circumstances, and enforced at the same time by the eloquence of the neighbouring clergymen and gentry, at length prevailed, and the laird of Corse immediately became minister of Keith. He was at this time forty-eight years of age.

In 1618, Forbes was appointed bishop of Aberdeen, with the sincere approbation of all classes of the people. Attached from principle to the episcopal

form of church government, he concurred in the five articles of Perth, which were that year imposed upon the Scottish church. It does not appear, however, that bishop Forbes used any severe means to carry these articles into practice, for we are informed by Burnet [*Life of Bedell*] that, by his remarkable prudence, he "greatly allayed, and almost conquered, not only the distempered judgments, but the perverse and turbulent humours of divers in his diocese." In his whole conduct as a bishop, he appears to have been uniformly influenced by an honest and conscientious regard to the obligations of the character which he had assumed, and what he conceived to be the best means of promoting the interests of piety and virtue. He was not only careful to fix worthy clergymen in his diocese, but to make proper provision for their support and that of their successors. He succeeded in recovering many of the revenues which, in the tumults of the reforming period, had been lost or neglected, and he used all proper methods with heritors and titulars of teinds, and others, to make augmentation of stipends; which he had no sooner effected in some cases, than he dissolved the pernicious union of parishes, and established a clergyman in each. Even from his own income, limited as it must have been, he bestowed much upon the poorer clergy. He was very strict in examining those who applied for ordination, and thus secured for future times a superior body of clergy. He was also indefatigable in visiting and inspecting his clergy, a duty which he generally performed in a somewhat singular manner. "It was his custom," says Burnet, "to go without pomp or noise, attended only by one servant, that he might the more easily be informed of what belonged to his cure. When he was told of the weakness or negligence of any of his clergy, he would go and lodge near his church, on Saturday, in the evening, without making himself known, and the next day, when he was in the pulpit, he would go and hear him, that by this he might be able to judge what his common sermons were; and as they appeared to him, he encouraged or admonished him."

Sometime after his promotion to the bishopric, he was appointed chancellor of king's college, Aberdeen, which institution he raised from a state of utter desolation and neglect, to be one of the most flourishing in the kingdom. He fully repaired the buildings; he increased the library, revived the professorships of divinity, canon law, and physic; and procured the addition of a new professorship in divinity. At length, finding himself drawing near his latter end, he sent for all the clergy of Aberdeen to receive the sacrament along with him, and two days after, March 28th, 1635, breathed his last, with the most pious expressions of hope, and full of religious consolation. At his funeral, which took place in the cathedral church of Aberdeen, Dr Barron preached an appropriate sermon to a numerous auditory, which was afterwards published.¹

This great ornament of the episcopal church in Scotland is characterized in the manner of the time, as a man of singularly clear genius, solid judgment, the highest prudence, piety, and integrity, of much authority in counsel, and invincible fortitude and constancy of mind. Bishop Burnet informs us, that he "scarce ever suffered any man of merit to ask any thing at his hands, but anticipated them; while those whose characters would not bear a severe scrutiny never dared to solicit him. He had a quick eye and sprightly countenance, which proved an additional ornament to his expressions, which were grave and majestic, and of peculiar insinuation and grace. In parliament, he was elected one of the lords of the articles, and his judgment there, and in council, was considered as an oracle."

¹ The only works of bishop Forbes, which have been published, are his Commentary on the Revelation, printed at London in 1613, (republished in Latin after his death, by his son,) and a treatise entitled *Exercitationes de verbo Dei, et Dissertatio de Versionibus Vernaculis*.

FORBES, JOHN, second son of bishop Forbes, was born, May 2nd, 1593, and received the rudiments of his religious and literary education under the care of his father. In 1607, he was sent to King's college, Aberdeen, where he studied philosophy. Afterwards, he spent some years on the continent, studying theology, first at Heidelberg, under the celebrated Pareus, and subsequently at Sedan, and other celebrated universities in upper and lower Germany. He devoted much of his attention to the writings of the fathers, and made great progress in the study of Hebrew, both of which branches of knowledge, he considered as of the first importance to a theologian. The learning which he thus acquired enabled him, in 1618, to maintain a public dispute against the archbishop and the Lutherans at Upsal. Returning next year to Scotland, he was, at the following synod of the diocese of Aberdeen, called to the profession of the gospel, and, soon after, was elected professor of divinity in King's college. By the death of his elder brother, in 1625, he became heir apparent of his father as laird of Corse and O'Neil, to which honour he afterwards duly acceded. At the breaking out of the covenanting insurrection in 1638, Forbes published an admonition, in which he pointed out the evils likely to arise from the bond into which the nation was plunging itself, and loudly and earnestly implored that peace might be preserved. It is well known that this advice was not followed, although the people of the northern provinces generally abstained from entering into the covenant. In summer, that year, a deputation of the covenanters, headed by the earl of Montrose, arrived at Aberdeen, for the purpose of arguing the inhabitants into an acceptance of their bond; but owing to the exertions of Forbes, and other preachers and professors, they met with little success. The Aberdeen doctors, as they were called, maintained a disputation against the deputies of the covenant, with such spirit and effect as forms a curious episode in the history of the civil war. They were warmly thanked by the king for their loyalty, and attracted the respectful notice of the church party in England, on account of their pro-episcopal arguments. In a grateful letter addressed to them by the king, from Whitehall, January 31st, 1639, the name of Forbes stands first in the list. But the covenanters were now too warmly engaged in their opposition to the king, to pay much attention to argument. Early in 1639, instead of a deputation to argue, an army came to coerce; so that, finding no longer any safety in Aberdeen, the bishop and two of the doctors took shipping for England, while Forbes retired to his house of Corse. After the pacification of Berwick, he returned to the city, and preached for some time in one of the vacant pulpits. Hostilities, however, were soon after renewed, and as the covenanters were resolved to urge the bond upon every public person, Forbes, as well as others, was summoned before the synod of Aberdeen, to answer for his recusancy. It was in vain that he urged his conscientious objections: the times were not such as to allow of a refined toleration, and he was deposed for contumacy. He appears to have now devoted himself, in the library of King's college, to the composition of his great work, the "Historico-Theological Institutions," which he was about to finish, when the solemn league and covenant occasioned a fresh persecution of men of his class, and he was obliged, with great reluctance, to leave his native country, April 5th, 1644. He resided for two years in Holland, and there completed and published his "Institutions," which was by far the most learned and valuable work of the kind that had then been offered to the public. Returning to his native country in 1646, he lived for some time in unmolested retirement at Corse, where he busied himself in making some considerable additions to the work above mentioned, which were not published during the author's life-time. After a life, which his biographer has called a continual preparation for death,

this learned, pious, and virtuous man expired, April 29th, 1648, at the immature age of fifty-five. He had, by his wife, who was a native of Middleburg, two sons, of whom one survived him, and was the heir of his learning and virtue, as well as of his estates. The friends of Dr Forbes desired that he should be buried in the cathedral beside his father; but this was forbidden by the party then in power, and the mourners were obliged to carry his body to an ordinary church-yard, where it lies without any monument. It is painful to add another instance of the narrow spirit to which religious hostility was carried, in an age otherwise characterized by so much zealous piety. While professor, Forbes had purchased a house at Old Aberdeen, where King's college is situated, and made it over for the use of his successors; but having forgot to secure his life-rent in it, he was afterwards deprived of it by the prevailing party.¹

FORBES, SIR WILLIAM, of Pitsligo, an eminent banker and citizen, was born at Edinburgh on the 5th of April, 1739. He was descended by the father's side, from a younger branch of the ancient and respectable family of Forbes of Monmusk, the proprietors, at the close of the seventeenth century, of the noble barony of that name, on the banks of the Don, in Aberdeenshire; and by his paternal grandmother, from the still older and more dignified family of the lords Pitsligo, in the same county. His mother was also a branch of the family of Forbes of Monmusk, one of the first families in Scotland who were invested with the badge of Nova Scotia baronets, which still is worn by their descendants.

His father, who was bred to the bar, and was rising into eminence in that profession, died when he was only four years of age, leaving his mother, then a young woman, with two infant sons, and very slender means of support. She lived at first at Milne of Forgue, on the estate of Bogny in Aberdeenshire, with the proprietor of which territory she was connected through her mother, and afterwards fixed her residence at Aberdeen, with her two sons, where she remained for several years, superintending their education. While there, the younger son, who is represented as having been a most engaging boy, died, to the inexpressible grief of his mother, leaving her remaining hopes to centre on Sir William, then her only child.

Though reared in confined and straitened circumstances, Sir William had not only the benefit of an excellent education, but was under the immediate care and superintendence of the most respectable gentlemen in Aberdeenshire. His guardians were lord Forbes, his uncle lord Pitsligo, his maternal uncle Mr Morrison of Bogny, and his aunt's husband Mr Urquhart of Meldrum, who were not only most attentive to the duties of their trust, but habituated him from his earliest years to the habits and ideas of good society, and laid the foundation of that highly honourable and gentlemanlike character which so remarkably distinguished him in after life.

It has been often observed, that the source of every thing which is pure and upright in subsequent years, is to be found in the lessons of virtue and piety instilled into the infant mind by maternal love; and of this truth the character of Sir William Forbes affords a signal example. He himself uniformly declared, and solemnly repeated on his death bed, that he owed every thing to the upright character, pious habits, and sedulous care of his mother. She belonged to a class formerly well known, but unhappily nearly extinct in this country, who, though descended from ancient and honourable families, and in-

¹ The works of Dr Forbes are, 1. *Irenicum Amatoribus Veritatis et Pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana*, Aberdeen, 4to, 1629. 2. *Joannis Forbesii a Corse Institutiones Historico-Theologicæ*, Amstel. folio, 1645. 3. Annotations to the Latin translation of his father's Commentaries on the Apocalypse, Amstel. 4to, 1646. 4. Ten Books of Moral Theology. His whole works were collected and published in two volumes folio, at Amsterdam, in 1703. with a life prefixed, by Mr George Garden.

timate with the best society in Scotland, lived in privacy, and what would now be deemed poverty, solely engaged in the care of their children, and the discharge of their social and religious duties. Many persons are still alive, who recollect with gratitude and veneration these remnants of the olden times; and in the incessant care which they devoted to the moral and religious education of their offspring, is to be found the pure and sacred fountain from which all the prosperity and virtue of Scotland has flowed.

Both Sir William's father and his mother were members of the Scottish episcopal church; a religious body which, although exposed to many vexations and disabilities since the Revolution in 1688, continued to number among its members many of the most respectable and conscientious inhabitants of the country. To this communion Sir William continued ever after to belong, and to his humane and beneficent exertions, its present comparatively prosperous and enlarged state may be in a great measure ascribed. It is the chief glory of that church to have formed the character, and trained the virtues of one of the most perfect specimens of the Christian character which Great Britain has ever produced.

As soon as the education of her son was so far advanced as to permit of his entering upon some profession, his mother, lady Forbes, removed to Edinburgh in October, 1753, where an esteemed and excellent friend, Mr Farquharson of Haughton, prevailed on the Messrs Coutts soon after to receive him as an apprentice into their highly respectable banking house—among the earliest establishments of the kind in Edinburgh, and which has for above a century conferred such incalculable benefit on all classes, both in the metropolis and the neighbouring country. The mother and son did not in the first instance keep house for themselves, but boarded with a respectable widow lady; and it is worthy of being recorded, as a proof of the difference in the style of living, and the value of money between that time and the present, that the sum paid for the board of the two was only forty pounds a year.

At Whitsunday, 1754, as Sir William was bound an apprentice to the banking house, she removed to a small house in Forrester's Wynd, consisting only of a single floor. From such small beginnings did the fortune of this distinguished man, who afterwards attained so eminent a station among his fellow citizens, originally spring. Even in these humble premises, this exemplary lady not only preserved a dignified and respectable independence, but properly supported the character of his father's widow. She was visited by persons of the very first distinction in Scotland, and frequently entertained them at tea parties in the afternoon; a mode of seeing society which, although almost gone into disuse with the increasing wealth and luxury of modern manners, was then very prevalent, and where incomparably better conversation prevailed, than in the larger assemblies which have succeeded. At that period also, when dinner or supper parties were given by ladies of rank or opulence, which was sometimes, though seldom the case, their drawing rooms were frequented in the afternoon by the young and the old of both sexes; and opportunities afforded for the acquisition of elegance of manner, and a taste for polite and superior conversation, of which Sir William did not fail to profit in the very highest degree.

It was an early impression of Sir William's, that one of his principal duties in life consisted in restoring his ancient, but now dilapidated family; and it was under this feeling of duty, that he engaged in the mercantile profession. The following memorandum, which was found among his earliest papers, shows how soon this idea had taken possession of his mind:—"The slender provision which my father has left me, although he had, by great attention to business and frugality, been enabled in the course of that life, to double the pittance

which originally fell to him out of the wreck of the family estate, rendered it absolutely necessary for me to attach myself to some profession, for my future support and the restoration of the decayed fortunes of my family."—In pursuance of this honourable feeling, he early and assiduously applied to the profession which he had embraced, and by this means, was enabled ultimately to effect the object of his ambition, to an extent that rarely falls to the lot even of the most prosperous in this world.

His apprenticeship lasted seven years, during which he continued to live with lady Forbes in the same frugal and retired manner, but in the enjoyment of the same dignified and excellent society which they had embraced upon their first coming to Edinburgh. After its expiry, he acted for two years as clerk in the establishment, during which time his increasing emoluments enabled him to make a considerable addition to the comforts of his mother, whose happiness was ever the chief object of his care. In 1761, his excellent abilities and application to business, induced the Messrs Coutts to admit him as a partner, with a small share in the banking house, and he ever after ascribed his good fortune in life, to the fortunate connexion thus formed with that great mercantile family. But without being insensible to the benefits arising from such a connexion, it is perhaps more just to ascribe it to his own undeviating purity and integrity of character, which enabled him to turn to the best advantage those fortunate incidents which at one time or other occur to all in life, but which so many suffer to escape from negligence, instability, or a mistaken exercise of their talents.

In 1763, one of the Messrs Coutts died; another retired from business through ill health, and the two others were settled in London. A new company was therefore formed, consisting of Sir William Forbes, Sir James Hunter Blair, and Sir Robert Herries; and although none of the Messrs Coutts retained any connexion with the firm, their name was retained out of respect to the eminent gentlemen of that name who had preceded them. The business was carried on on this footing till 1773, when the name of the firm was changed to that of Forbes, Hunter, & Co., which it has ever since been; Sir Robert Herries having formed a separate establishment in St James street, London. Of the new firm, Sir William Forbes continued to be the head from that time till the period of his death; and to his sound judgment and practical sagacity in business, much of its subsequent prosperity was owing. His first care was to withdraw the concern altogether from the alluring but dangerous speculations in corn, in which all the private bankers of Scotland were at that period so much engaged, and to restrict their transactions to the proper business of banking. They commenced issuing notes in 1783, and rapidly rose, from the respect and esteem entertained for all the members of the firm, as well as the prudence and judgment with which their business was conducted, to a degree of public confidence and prosperity almost unprecedented in this country.

In 1770, he married Miss Elizabeth Hay, eldest daughter of Dr (afterwards Sir James) Hay; a union productive of unbroken happiness to his future life, and from which many of the most fortunate acquisitions of partners to the firm have arisen. This event obliged him to separate from his mother, the old and venerated guide of his infant years, as her habits of privacy and retirement were inconsistent with the more extended circle of society in which he was now to engage. She continued from that period to live alone. Her remaining life was one of unbroken tranquillity and retirement. Blessed with a serene and contented disposition, enjoying the kindness, and gratified by the rising prosperity and high character which her son had obtained; and fortunate in seeing the fortunes of her own and her husband's family rapidly reviving under his successful exertions, she lived happy and contented to an extreme old age, calmly

awaiting the approach of death, to which she neither looked forward with desire nor apprehension. After a life of unblemished virtue and ceaseless duty, she expired on the 26th December, 1789.

The benevolence of Sir William Forbes's character, his unwearied charity and activity of disposition, naturally led to his taking a very prominent share in the numerous public charities of Edinburgh. The first public duty of this kind which he undertook, was that of a manager of the charity work-house, to which he was appointed in 1771. At this period the expenditure of that useful establishment was greater than its income, and it was necessary for the managers to communicate for several years after with the magistrates and other public bodies, as to providing for the deficits, and the state and management of the poor. Sir William Forbes was one of the sub-committee appointed by the managers to arrange this important matter, and upon him was devolved the duty of drawing up the reports and memorials respecting that charity, which during the years 1772 and 1773, were printed and circulated to induce the public to come forward and aid the establishment; a duty which he performed with equal ability and success. The means of improving this institution, in which he ever through life took the warmest interest, occupied about this period a very large share of his thoughts, and in 1777, he embodied them in the form of a pamphlet, which he published in reference to the subject, abounding both in practical knowledge and enlightened benevolence.

Another most important institution, about the same period, was deeply indebted to his activity and perseverance for the successful termination of its difficulties. The high school having become ruinous, and unfit for the increasing number of scholars who attended it, a few public-spirited individuals formed a committee in conjunction with the magistrates of the city, to build a new one. Of this committee, Sir William Forbes was chairman; and besides contributing largely himself, it was to his activity and perseverance that the success of the undertaking was mainly to be ascribed. The amount subscribed was £2,300, a very large sum in those days, but still insufficient to meet the expenses of the work. By his exertions the debt of £1,100 was gradually liquidated, and he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation stone of the edifice destined to be the scene of the early efforts of Sir Walter Scott, and many of the greatest men whom Scotland has produced.

He was admitted a member of the Orphan Hospital directory on the 8th of August, 1774, and acted as manager from 1783 to 1788, and from 1797 to 1801. He always took a warm interest in the concerns of that excellent charity, and devoted a considerable part of his time to the care and education of the infants who were thus brought under his superintendence. He was become a member of the Merchant Company in 1784, and in 1786 was elected master; an office which though held only for a year, was repeatedly conferred upon him during the remainder of his life. He always took an active share in the management of that great company, and was a warm promoter of a plan adopted long after, of rendering the annuities to widows belonging to it a matter of right, and not favour or solicitation. The same situation made him a leading member of the committee of merchants, appointed in 1772, to confer with Sir James Montgomery, then lord advocate, on the new bankrupt act, introduced in that year, and many of its most valuable clauses were suggested by his experience. In that character he took a leading part in the affairs of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, which is governed by the officers of the Merchant Company, and was elected governor of that charity in 1786. The same causes made him governor of Watson's hospital during the year that he was president or assistant of the Merchant Company, and president of the governors of Gillespie's hospital, when that

charity was opened in 1802. He faithfully and assiduously discharged the duties connected with the management of these hospitals during all the time that he was at their head, and devoted to these truly benevolent objects a degree of time which, considering his multifarious engagements in business is truly surprising, and affords the best proof how much may be done even by those most engaged, by a proper economy in that important particular.

From the first institution of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Society in 1783, he was a constituted member of both, and took an active share in their formation and management. From 1785 downwards he was constantly a manager of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to ameliorate the situation and assuage the sufferings of the unfortunate inmates of that admirable establishment. At his death he left £200 to the institution, to be applied to the fund for the benefit of patients.

In 1787, he was appointed one of the trustees for the encouragement of manufactures and fisheries, of which his friend Mr Arbuthnot was secretary, and he continued for the remainder of his life to be one of its most active and efficient members.

One of the greatest improvements which Edinburgh received was the formation of the South Bridge in 1784, under the auspices and direction of his friend Sir James Hunter Blair. In the management and guidance of this great work that enterprising citizen was mainly guided by the advice of his friend Sir William Forbes, and he was afterwards one of the most active and zealous trustees, who under the 25. Geo. III. c. 28. carried into full execution after his death that great public undertaking. In selecting the plan to be adopted, the more plain design which afforded the accommodation required was preferred to the costly and magnificent one furnished by the Messrs Adams: and with much judgment and wisdom was the work carried into effect, that it was completed not only without any loss, but with a large surplus to the public. Of this surplus £3000 was applied to another very great improvement, the draining of the Meadows, while the ten *per cent* addition to the land tax, which had been levied under authority of the act as a guarantee fund, and not being required for the purposes of the trust, was paid over to the city of Edinburgh for the use of the community. When these results are contrasted with those of similar undertakings of the present age, the sagacity of the subject of this memoir and his partner, Sir James Hunter Blair, receive a new lustre, far above what was reflected upon them, even at the time when the benefits of their exertions were more immediately felt.

In 1785, he was prevailed on to accept the situation of chairman of the sub-committee of delegates from the Highland counties, for obtaining an alteration of the law passed the year before, in regard to small stills within the Highland line. Nearly the whole labour connected with this most important subject, and all the correspondence with the gentlemen who were to support the desired alteration in parliament, fell upon Sir William Forbes. By his indefatigable efforts, however, aided by those of the late duke of Athol, a nobleman ever alive to whatever might tend to the improvement of the Highlands, the object was at length attained, and by the 25. Geo. III. this important matter was put upon an improved footing.

Ever alive to the call of humanity and the sufferings of the afflicted, he early directed his attention to the formation of a Lunatic Asylum in Edinburgh; an institution the want of which was at that time severely felt by all, but, especially the poorer classes of society. Having collected the printed accounts of similar institutions in other places, he drew up a sketch of the intended establishment and an advertisement for its support, in March, 1788. Though a sufficient sum

could not be collected to set the design on foot at that time, a foundation was laid, on which, under the auspices of his son, the late Sir William, and other benevolent and public spirited individuals, the present excellent structure at Morningside was ultimately reared.

The late benevolent Dr Johnston of Leith having formed, in 1792, a plan for the establishment of a Blind Asylum in Edinburgh, Sir William Forbes, both by liberal subscription and active exertion, greatly contributed to the success of the undertaking. He was the chairman of the committee appointed by the subscribers to draw up regulations for the establishment, and when the committee of management was appointed, he was nominated vice president, which situation he continued to hold with the most unwearied activity till the time of his death. Without descending farther into detail, it is sufficient to observe that, for the last thirty years of his life, Sir William was either at the head, or actively engaged in the management of all the charitable establishments of Edinburgh, and that many of the most valuable of them owed their existence or success to his exertions.

Nor was it only to his native city that his beneficent exertions were confined. The family estate of Pitsligo, having been forfeited to the crown in 1746, was brought to sale in 1758, and bought by Mr Forbes, lord Pitsligo's only son, His embarrassments, however, soon compelled him to bring the lower barony of Pitsligo to sale, and it was bought by Mr Garden of Troup: Sir William Forbes being the nearest heir of the family, soon after purchased 70 acres of the upper barony, including the old mansion of Pitsligo, now roofless and deserted. By the death of Mr Forbes in 1781, Sir William succeeded to the lower barony, with which he had now connected the old mansion house, and thus saw realized his early and favourite wish of restoring to his ancient family, their paternal inheritance.

The acquisition of this property, which, though extensive, was, from the embarrassments of the family, in a most neglected state, opened a boundless field for Sir William's active benevolence of disposition. In his character of landlord, he was most anxious for the improvement and happiness of the people on his estates, and spared neither time nor expense to effect it. He early commenced their improvement on a most liberal scale, and bent his attention in an especial manner to the cultivation of a large tract of moss which still remained in a state of nature. With this view he laid out in 1783, the village of New Pitsligo, and gave every assistance, by lending money, and forbearance in the exaction of rent, to the incipient exertions of the feuars. Numbers of poor cottars were established by his care on the most uncultivated parts of the estate, most of whom not only paid no rent for the land they occupied, but were pensioners on his bounty: a mode of proceeding which, although it brought only burdens on the estate at first, has since been productive of the greatest benefit by the continual application of that greatest of all improvements to a barren soil, the labour of the human hand. The value of this property, and the means of improvement to the tenantry, were further increased by the judicious purchase, in 1787, of the contiguous estates of Pittullie and Pittendrum, which by their situation on the sea-shore, afforded the means of obtaining in great abundance sea-ware for the lands. The liberal encouragement which he afforded soon brought settlers from all quarters: the great improvements which he made himself served both as a model and an incitement to his tenantry: the formation of the great road from Peterhead to Banff which passed through the village of New Pitsligo, and to which he largely contributed, connected the new feuars with those thriving sea ports; and before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing assembled on a spot which at his acquisition of the estate was a bar-

ran waste, a thriving population of three hundred souls, and several thousand acres smiling with cultivation which were formerly the abode only of the moor-fowl or the curlew.

In order to encourage industry on his estate, he established a spinning school at New Pitsligo, introduced the linen manufacture and erected a bleach-field : undertakings which have since been attended with the greatest success. At the same time, to promote the education of the young, he built a school house, where the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge established a teacher ; and in order to afford to persons of all persuasions the means of attending that species of worship to which they were inclined, he built and endowed not only a Chapel of Ease, with a manse for the minister, connected with the established church, but a chapel, with a dwelling house for an episcopal clergyman, for the benefit of those who belonged to that persuasion. Admirable acts of beneficence, hardly credible in one who resided above two hundred miles from this scene of his bounty, and was incessantly occupied in projects of improvements or charity in his own city.

To most men it would appear, that this support and attention to these multifarious objects of benevolence, both in Edinburgh and on his Aberdeenshire estates, would have absorbed the whole of both his fortune and his time, which could be devoted to objects of beneficence. But that was not Sir William Forbes's character. Indefatigable in activity, unwearied in doing good, he was not less strenuous in private than in public charity ; and no human eye will ever know, no human ear ever learn, the extensive and invaluable deeds of kindness and benevolence which he performed, not merely to all the unfortunate who fell within his own observation, but all who were led by his character for beneficence to apply to him for relief. Perhaps no person ever combined to so great a degree the most unbounded pecuniary generosity with delicacy in the bestowal of the gift, and discrimination in the mode in which it was applied. Without giving way to the weakness of indiscriminately relieving all who apply for charity, which so soon surrounds those who indulge in it with a mass of idle or profligate indigence, he made it a rule to inquire personally, or by means of those he could trust, into the character and circumstances of those who were partakers of his bounty : and when he found that it was really deserved, that virtue had been reduced by suffering, or industry blasted by misfortune, he put no bounds to the splendid extent of his benefactions. To one class in particular, in whom the sufferings of poverty is perhaps more severely felt than by any other in society, the remnants of old and respectable families, who had survived their relations, or been broken down by misfortune, his charity was in a most signal manner exerted ; and numerous aged and respectable individuals, who had once known better days, would have been reduced by his death to absolute ruin, if they had not been fortunate enough to find in his descendants, the heirs not only of his fortune but of his virtue and generosity.

Both Sir William's father and mother were of episcopalian families, as most of those of the higher class in Aberdeenshire at that period were ; and he was early and strictly educated in the tenets of that persuasion. He attended chief baron Smith's chapel in Blackfriars' Wynd, of which he was one of the vestry, along with the esteemed Sir Adolphus Oughton, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. In 1771, it was resolved to join this congregation with that of two other chapels in Carrubber's Close and Skinner's Close, and build a more spacious and commodious place of worship for them all united. In this undertaking, as in most others of the sort, the labouring oar fell on Sir William Forbes ; and by his personal exertions, and the liberal subscriptions of himself and his friends, the Cowgate chapel was at length completed, afterwards so well

known as one of the most popular places of worship in Edinburgh. At this period it was proposed by some of the members of the congregation, instead of building the new chapel in the old town, to build it at the end of the North Bridge, then recently finished after its fall, near the place where the Theatre Royal now stands. After some deliberation the project was abandoned, "as it was not thought possible that the projected new town could come to any thing"—a most curious instance of the degree in which the progress of improvement in this country has exceeded the hopes of the warmest enthusiasts in the land.

Being sincerely attached to the episcopalian persuasion, Sir William had long been desirous that the members of the English communion resident in this country should be connected with the episcopal church of Scotland: by which alone they could obtain the benefit of confirmation, and the other solemn services of religion. He was very earnest in his endeavours to effect this union: and although there were many obstacles to overcome, he had succeeded in a great degree during his own lifetime in bringing it to a conclusion. On this subject he had much correspondence with many leading men connected with the church of England, archbishop Moore, bishop Porteous, and Sir William Scott, as well as bishop Abernethy Drummond, and the prelates of the Scottish episcopal church. In 1793, it was arranged that Mr Bauchor, vicar of Epsom, should, on the resignation of bishop Abernethy Drummond, be elected bishop, and the congregation of the Cowgate chapel were to acknowledge him as bishop. The scheme, however, was abandoned at that time, from a certain degree of jealousy which subsisted on the part of the established church of Scotland: but it was renewed afterwards, when that feeling had died away; and to the favourable impressions produced by his exertions, seconded as they afterwards were by the efforts of his son, now lord Medwyn, the happy accomplishment of the union of the two churches, so eminently conducive to the respectability and usefulness of both, is chiefly to be ascribed.

His son-in-law, the late able and esteemed Mr M'Konzie of Portmore, having prepared a plan for establishing a fund in aid of the bishops of the Scottish episcopal church, and of such of the poorer clergy as stood in need of assistance, he entered warmly into the scheme, and drew up the memoir respecting the present state of the episcopal church, which was circulated in 1806, and produced such beneficial results. He not only subscribed largely himself, but by his example and influence was the chief cause of the success of the subscription, which he had the satisfaction of seeing in a very advanced state of progress before his death.

He was, from its foundation, not only a director of the Cowgate chapel, but took the principal lead in its affairs. A vacancy in that chapel having occurred in 1800, he was chiefly instrumental in bringing down the Rev. Mr Alison, the well known author of the *Essay on Taste*, then living at a remote rectory in Shropshire, to fill the situation. Under the influence of that eloquent divine, the congregation rapidly increased, both in number and respectability, and was at length enabled in 1818, through the indefatigable exertions of lord Medwyn, by their own efforts, aided by the liberality of their friends, to erect the present beautiful structure of St Paul's chapel in York place. At the same time, Sir William Forbes, eldest son of the subject of this memoir, effected by similar exertions the completion of St John's chapel in Prince's Street; and thus, chiefly by the efforts of a single family, in less than half a century, was the episcopal communion of Edinburgh raised from its humble sites in Blackfriars' Wynd and Carrubber's Close, and placed in two beautiful edifices, raised at an expense of above £30,000, and which must strike

the eye of every visitor from south Britain, as truly worthy of the pure and elegant form of worship for which they are designed.

Sir William had known Mr Alison from his infancy: and from the situation which the latter now held in the Cowgate chapel, they were brought into much closer and more intimate friendship, from which both these eminent men derived, for the remainder of their lives, the most unalloyed satisfaction. Mr Alison attended Sir William during the long and lingering illness which at length closed his beneficent life, and afterwards preached the eloquent and impressive funeral sermon, which is published with his discourses, and portrays the character we have here humbly endeavoured to delineate in a more detailed form.

When the new bankrupt act, which had been enacted only for a limited time, expired in 1783, Sir William Forbes was appointed convener of the mercantile committee in Edinburgh, which corresponded with the committees of Glasgow and Aberdeen, of which provost Colquhoun and Mr Milne were respectively conveners; and their united efforts and intelligence produced the great improvement upon the law which was effected by that act. By it the sequestration law, which under the old statute had extended to all descriptions of debtors, was confined to merchants, traders, and others properly falling under its spirit; the well known regulations for the equalization of arrestments and poindings within sixty days, were introduced; sequestrations, which included at first only the personal estate, were extended to the whole property; and the greatest improvement of all was introduced, namely, the restriction of what was formerly alternative to a system of private trust, under judicial control. Sir William Forbes, who corresponded with the London solicitor who drew the bill, had the principal share in suggesting these the great outlines of the system of mercantile bankruptcy in this country; and accordingly, when the convention of royal burghs who paid the expense attending it, voted thanks to the lord advocate for carrying it through parliament, they at the same time (10th July, 1783,) directed their preses to "convey the thanks of the convention to Sir William Forbes, Ilay Campbell, Esq., solicitor-general for Scotland, and Mr Milne, for their great and uncommon attention to the bill."

On the death of Mr Forbes of Pitsligo, only son of lord Pitsligo, in 1782, whose estate and title were forfeited for his accession to the rebellion in 1745, Sir William Forbes, as the nearest heir in the female line of the eldest branch of the family of Forbes, claimed and obtained, from the Lyon court, the designation and arms of Pitsligo. He was the heir of the peerage under the destination in the patent, if it had not been forfeited.

Hitherto Sir William Forbes's character has been considered merely as that of a public-spirited, active, and benevolent gentleman, who, by great activity and spotless integrity, had been eminently prosperous in life, and devoted, in the true spirit of Christian charity, a large portion of his ample means and valuable time to the relief of his fellow creatures, or works of public utility and improvement; but this was not his only character: he was also a gentleman of the highest breeding, and most dignified manners; the life of every scene of innocent amusement or recreation; the head of the most cultivated and elegant society in the capital; and a link between the old Scottish aristocratical families, to which he belonged by birth, and the rising commercial opulence with which he was connected by profession, as well as the literary circle, with which he was intimate from his acquisitions.

In 1768, he spent nearly a twelvemonth in London, in Sir Robert, then Mr, Herries' family; and such was the opinion formed of his abilities even at that early period, that Sir Robert anxiously wished him to settle in the metropolis in busi-

ness ; but though strongly tempted to embrace this offer, from the opening which it would afford to London society, of which he was extremely fond, he had sufficient good sense to withstand the temptation, and prefer the more limited sphere of his own country, as the scene of his future usefulness. But his residence in London at that time had a very important effect upon his future life, by introducing him to the brilliant, literary, and accomplished society of that capital, then abounding in the greatest men who adorned the last century ; Dr Johnson, Mr Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Gibbon, Mr Arbuthnot, and a great many others. He repeatedly visited London for months together at different times during the remainder of his life, and was nearly as well known in its best circles as he was in that of his own country. At a very early period of his life he had conceived the highest relish for the conversation of literary men, and he never afterwards omitted an occasion of cultivating those whom chance threw in his way ; the result of which was, that he gradually formed an acquaintance, and kept up a correspondence, with all the first literary and philosophical characters of his day. He was early and intimately acquainted with Dr John Gregory, the author of the " Father's Legacy to his Daughters," and one of the most distinguished ornaments of Scotland at that period, both when he was professor of medicine at Aberdeen, and after he had been removed to the chair of the theory of medicine in Edinburgh ; and this friendship continued with so much warmth till the death of that eminent man, that he named him one of the guardians to his children ; a duty which he discharged with the most scrupulous and exemplary fidelity. At a still earlier period he became intimate with Mr Arbuthnot ; and this friendship, founded on mutual regard, continued unbroken till the death of that excellent man, in 1803. His acquaintance with Dr Beattie commenced in 1765, and a similarity of tastes, feelings, and character, soon led to that intimate friendship, which was never for a moment interrupted in this world, and of which Sir William has left so valuable and touching a proof in the life of his valued friend, which he published in 1805. So high an opinion had Dr Beattie formed, not only of his character, but judgment and literary acquirements, that he consulted him on all his publications, and especially on a " Postscript to the second edition of the Essay on Truth," which he submitted before publication to Dr John Gregory, Mr Arbuthnot, and Sir William.

He formed an acquaintance with Mrs Montague, at the house of Dr Gregory in Edinburgh, in 1766 ; and this afforded him, when he went to London, constant access to the drawing-room of that accomplished lady, then the centre not only of the whole literary and philosophical, but all the political and fashionable society of the metropolis. He there also became acquainted with Dr Porteus, then rector of Lambeth, and afterwards bishop of London, not only a divine of the highest abilities, but destined to become a prelate of the most dignified and unblemished manners, with whom he ever after kept up a close and confidential correspondence. Sylvester Douglas, afterwards lord Glenbervie, was one of his early and valued friends. He also was acquainted with Dr Moore, then dean, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury ; and Bennet Langton, a gentleman well known in the highest literary circles of London. Sir Joshua Reynolds early obtained a large and deserved share of his admiration and regard, and has left two admirable portraits of Sir William, which convey in the happiest manner the spirit of the original ; while Dr Johnson, whose acquaintance with him commenced in 1773, on his return from his well known tour in the Hebrides, conceived such a regard for his character, that he ever after, on occasion of his visits to London, honoured him with no common share of kindness and friendship. With Mr Boswell, the popular author of the " Life of Johnson," he was of course through his whole career on intimate terms. Miss Bowdler,

well known for her valuable writings on religious subjects; lord Hailes, the sagacious and enlightened antiquary of Scottish law; Mr Garrick, and Mr Burke, were also among his acquaintances. But it is superfluous to go farther into detail on this subject; suffice it to say, that he was an early member of the Literary Club in London, and lived all his life in terms of acquaintance or intimacy with its members, which contained a list of names immortal in English history; Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, Joshua Reynolds, Oliver Goldsmith, Thomas Warton, Edward Gibbon.

The friendship and acquaintance of such men necessarily led Sir William Forbes into a very extensive and interesting literary correspondence, a species of composition then much more usual than at this time, and which, if it sometimes engrossed time which might have been employed to more advantage, always exhibited a picture of thoughts and manners which future ages will look for in vain in the present generation of eminent men. His papers accordingly, contain a selection of interesting letters from great men, such as it rarely fell to the lot of any single individual, how fortunate or gifted soever, to accumulate. He was employed after the death of his esteemed and venerable friend, Mr Carr, of the Cowgate chapel, by his bequest, in the important duty of arranging and preparing the sermons for publication, which were afterwards given to the world; and he prepared, along with Dr Beattie and Mr Arbuthnot, the simple and pathetic inscription, which now stands over the grave of that excellent man, at the west end of St Paul's chapel, Edinburgh.

His intimate acquaintance with the first literary characters of the day, and the extensive correspondence which had thus fallen into his hands, probably suggested to Sir William Forbes the idea of writing the life of Dr Beattie, one of his earliest and most valued friends, and whose eminence was not only such as to call for such an effort of biography, but whose acquaintance with all the most eminent literary characters of the day, rendered his life the most favourable opportunity for portraying the constellation of illustrious men who shed their lustre over Scotland at the close of the eighteenth century. He executed this work accordingly, which appeared in 1805, shortly before his death, in such a way as to give the most favourable impression of the distinction which he would have attained as an author, had his path in general not lain in a more extended and peculiar sphere of usefulness. It rapidly went through a second edition, and is now deservedly ranked high among the biographical and historical remains of the last century. Independent of the value and interest of the correspondence from the first characters of the day which it contains, it embraces an admirable picture of the life and writings of its more immediate subject, and is written in a lucid and elegant style, which shows how well the author had merited the constant intercourse which he maintained with the first literary characters of the age. Of the moral character of the work, the elevated and Christian sentiments which it conveys, no better illustration can be afforded, than by the transcript of the concluding paragraph of the life of his eminent friend; too soon, and truly, alas! prophetic of his own approaching dissolution:

"Here I close my account of the Life of Dr Beattie; throughout the whole of which, I am not conscious of having, in any respect, misrepresented either his actions or his character; and of whom to record the truth is his best praise.

"On thus reviewing the long period of forty years that have elapsed since the commencement of our intimacy, it is impossible for me not to be deeply affected by the reflection, that of the numerous friends with whom he and I were wont to associate, at the period of our earliest acquaintance, all, I think, except three, have already paid their debt to nature; and that in no long time,

(how soon is only known to Him, the great Disposer of all events) my grey hairs shall sink into the grave, and I also shall be numbered with those who have been. May a situation so awful make its due impression on my mind! and may it be my earnest endeavour to employ that short portion of life which yet remains to me, in such a manner, as that, when that last dread hour shall come, in which my soul shall be required of me, I may look forward with trembling hope to a happy immortality, through the merits and mediation of our ever blessed Redeemer!"

Nor was Sir William Forbes's acquaintance by any means confined to the circle of his literary friends, how large and illustrious soever that may have been. It embraced also, all the leading fashionable characters of the time; and at his house were assembled all the first society which Scotland could produce in the higher ranks. The duchess of Gordon, so well known by her lively wit and singular character; the duke of Athol, long the spirited and patriotic supporter of Highland improvements; Sir Adolphus Oughton, the respected and esteemed commander-in-chief, were among his numerous acquaintances. Edinburgh was not at that period as it is now, almost deserted by the nobility and higher classes of the landed proprietors, but still contained a large portion of the old or noble families of the realm; and in that excellent society, combining, in a remarkable degree, aristocratic elegance, with literary accomplishments, Sir William Forbes's house was perhaps the most distinguished. All foreigners, or Englishmen coming to Scotland, made it their first object to obtain letters of introduction to so distinguished a person; and he uniformly received them with such hospitality and kindness as never failed to make the deepest impression on their minds, and render his character nearly as well known in foreign countries as his native city.

Of the estimation in which, from this rare combination of worthy qualities, he was held in foreign countries, no better proof can be desired than is furnished by the following character of him, drawn by an Italian gentleman who visited Scotland in 1789, and published an account of his tour at Florence in the following year.—“Sir William Forbes is descended from an ancient family in Scotland, and was early bred to the mercantile profession, and is now the head of a great banking establishment in Edinburgh. The notes of the house to which he belongs circulate like cash through all Scotland, so universal is the opinion of the credit of the establishment. A signal proof of this recently occurred, when, in consequence of some mercantile disasters which had shaken the credit of the country, a run took place upon the bank. He refused the considerable offers of assistance which were made by several of the most eminent capitalists of Edinburgh, and by his firmness and good countenance soon restored the public confidence. He has ever been most courteous and munificent to strangers; nor do I ever recollect in any country to have heard so much good of any individual as this excellent person. His manners are in the highest degree both courteous and dignified; and his undeviating moral rectitude and benevolence of heart, have procured for him the unanimous respect of the whole nation. An affectionate husband, a tender and vigilant father, his prodigious activity renders him equal to every duty. He has not hitherto entered upon the career of literature or the arts; but he has the highest taste for the works of others in these departments, and his house is the place where their professors are to be seen to the greatest advantage. He possesses a very fine and well chosen selection of books, as well as prints, which he is constantly adding to. Nothing gives him greater pleasure than to bring together the illustrious men of his own country and the distinguished foreigners who are constantly introduced to his notice; and it was there accordingly, that I met with

Adam Smith, Blair, Mackenzie, Ferguson, Cullen, Black, and Robertson; names sufficient to cast a lustre over any century of another country."—*Lettere sur Inghilterra, Scozia et Olanda*, ii. 345.

Besides his other admirable qualities, Sir William Forbes was accomplished in no ordinary degree. He was extremely fond of reading, and notwithstanding his multifarious duties and numerous engagements, found time to keep up with all the publications of the day, and to dip extensively into the great writers of former days. He was a good draughtsman, and not only sketched well from nature himself, but formed an extensive and very choice collection of prints both ancient and modern. He was also well acquainted with music, and in early life played with considerable taste and execution on the flute and musical glasses. His example and efforts contributed much to form the concerts which at that period formed so prominent a part of the Edinburgh society; and his love for gayety and amusement of every kind, when kept within due bounds, made him a regular supporter of the dancing assemblies, then frequented by all the rank and fashion of Scotland, and formed in a great measure under his guidance and auspices.

Friendship was with him a very strong feeling, founded on the exercise which it afforded to the benevolent affections. He often repeated the maxim of his venerated friend and guardian, lord Pitsligo,—“It is pleasant to acquire knowledge, but still more pleasant to acquire friendship.”—No man was ever more warm and sincere in his friendships, or conferred greater acts of kindness on those to whom he was attached; and none has left a wider chasm in the hearts of the numerous circles who appreciated his character.

He was extremely fond of society, and even convivial society, when it was not carried to excess. The native benevolence of his heart loved to expand in the social intercourse and mutual good will which prevailed upon such occasions. He thought well of all, judging of others by his own singleness and simplicity of character. His conversational powers were considerable, and his store of anecdotes very extensive. He uniformly supported, to the utmost of his power, every project for the amusement and gratification of the young, in whose society he always took great pleasure, even in his advanced years; inso-much, that it was hard to say whether he was the greatest favourite with youth, manhood, or old age.

No man ever performed with more scrupulous and exemplary fidelity the important duties of a father to his numerous family, and none were ever more fully rewarded, even during his own lifetime, by the character and conduct of those to whom he had given birth. In the “*Life of Dr Beattie*,” ii. 136, and 155, mention is made of a series of letters on the principles of natural and revealed religion, which he had prepared for the use of his children. Of this work, we are only prevented by our limits from giving a few specimens.

He was intimately acquainted with the late lord Melville, and by him introduced to Mr Pitt, who had frequent interviews with him on the subject of finance. In December, 1790, he was, at Mr Pitt's desire, consulted on the proposed augmentation of the stamps on bills of exchange, and many of his suggestions on the subject were adopted by that statesman.

No man ever more successfully or conscientiously conducted the important banking concern entrusted to his care. The large sums deposited in his hands, and the boundless confidence universally felt in the solvency of the establishment, gave him very great facilities, if he had chosen to make use of them, for the most tempting and profitable speculations. But he uniformly declined having any concern in such transactions; regarding the fortunes of others entrusted

to his care as a sacred deposit, to be administered with more scrupulous care and attention than his private affairs. The consequence was, that though he perhaps missed some opportunities of making a great fortune, yet he raised the reputation of the house to the highest degree for prudence and able management, and thus laid the foundation of that eminent character which it has ever since so deservedly enjoyed.

One peculiar and most salutary species of benevolence, was practised by Sir William Forbes to the greatest extent. His situation as head of a great banking establishment, led to his receiving frequent applications in the way of business for assistance, from young men not as yet possessed of capital. By a happy combination of caution with liberality in making these advances, by inquiring minutely into the habits and moral character of the individuals assisted, and proportioning the advance to their means and circumstances, he was enabled, to an almost incredible extent, to assist the early efforts of industry, without in the least endangering the funds committed by others to his care. Hundreds in every rank in Edinburgh were enabled, by his paternal assistance, to commence life with advantage, who otherwise could never have been established in the world; and numbers who afterwards rose to affluence and prosperity, never ceased in after years to acknowledge with the warmest gratitude, the timely assistance which first gave the turn to their heretofore adverse fortunes, and laid the foundation of all the success which they afterwards attained.

The benevolence of his disposition and the warmth of his heart seemed to expand with the advance of life and the increase of his fortune. Unlike most other men, he grew even more indulgent and humane, if that were possible, in his older than his earlier years. The intercourse of life, and the experience of a most extensive business, had no effect in diminishing his favourable opinion of mankind, or cooling his ardour in the pursuit of beneficence. Viewing others in the pure and unsullied mirror of his own mind, he imputed to them the warm and benevolent feelings with which he himself was actuated; and thought they were influenced by the same high springs of conduct which directed his own life. It was an early rule with him to set aside every year a certain portion of his income to works of charity, and this proportion increasing with the growth of his fortune, ultimately reached an almost incredible amount. Unsatisfied even with the immense extent and growing weight of his public and private charities, he had, for many years before his death, distributed large sums annually to individuals on whom he could rely to be the almoners of his bounty; and his revered friend, bishop Jolly, received in this way £100 a year, to be distributed around the remote village of Fraserburgh, in Aberdeenshire. These sums were bestowed under the most solemn promise of secrecy, and without any one but the person charged with the bounty being aware who the donor was. Numbers in this way in every part of the country partook of his charity, without then knowing whose was the hand which blessed them; and it frequently happened, that the same persons who had been succoured by his almoners, afterwards applied to himself; but on such occasions he invariably relieved them if they really seemed to require assistance; holding, as he himself expressed it, that his public and private charities were distinct; and that his right hand should not know what his left hand had given.

Lady Forbes having fallen into bad health, he was advised by her physician to spend the winter of 1792-3 in the south of Europe; and this gave him an opportunity of enjoying what he had long desired, without any probable prospect of obtaining—a visit to the Italian peninsula. He left Scotland in autumn, 1792; and returned in June, 1793. His cultivated taste made him enjoy this tour in the very highest degree; and the beneficial effect it produced

on lady Forbes's health, permitted him to feel the luxury of travelling in those delightful regions without any alloy. In going up the Rhine, he was arrested by a sentinel, while sketching the splendid castellated cliffs of Ehrenbreitzen; and only liberated on the commanding officer at the guard-house discovering that his drawings had nothing of a military character. The English society at Rome and Naples was very select that year, and he made many agreeable acquaintances, both in the Italian and British circles; to which he always afterwards looked back with the greatest interest. During the whole tour he kept a regular journal, which he extended when he returned home, at considerable length.

He was frequently offered a seat in parliament, both for the city of Edinburgh, and the county of Aberdeen; but he uniformly declined the offer. In doing so, he made no small sacrifice of his inclinations to a sense of duty; for no man ever enjoyed the society of the metropolis more than he did; and none had greater facilities for obtaining access to its most estimable branches, through his acquaintance with Dr Johnson, the Literary Club, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London. But he felt that the attractions of this refined and spiritual society might withdraw him too much from his peculiar and allotted sphere of usefulness in life; and, therefore, he made a sacrifice of his private wishes in this particular to his conscientious feelings: a proceeding which, though strictly in unison with what his character would lead us to expect, is a greater instance of self-denial, than most men under similar temptations could have exerted.

His high character, extensive wealth, and old, and once ennobled family, naturally pointed him out as the person, in all Scotland, most worthy of being elevated to the peerage. In 1799, accordingly, his friend lord Melville wrote to him, that Mr Pitt proposed to recommend to his majesty to bestow an Irish peerage upon him. Though highly flattered by this unsolicited mark of regard in so high a quarter, his native good sense at once led him to see the disadvantages of the glittering offer. After mentioning it to lady Forbes, who entirely concurred with him, he resolved, however, to lay the matter before his eldest son, the late Sir William, whom he justly considered as more interested in the proposed honour, than he could be at his advanced years. He communicated the proposal, accordingly, to Mr Forbes, without any intimation of his opinion, and desired him to think it maturely over before giving his answer. Mr Forbes returned next day, and informed him, that personally he did not desire the honour; that he did not conceive his fortune was adequate to the support of the dignity; and that, although he certainly would feel himself bound to accept the family title of Pitsligo, if it was to be restored, yet, he deemed the acceptance of a new title too inconsistent with the mercantile establishment with which his fortunes were bound up, to render it an object of desire. Sir William informed him that these were precisely his own ideas on the subject; that he was extremely happy to find that they prevailed equally with one so much younger in years than himself; and that he had forborne to express his own ideas on the subject, lest his parental influence should in any degree interfere with the unbiassed determination of an individual more particularly concerned than himself. The honour, accordingly, was respectfully declined; and at the same time so much secrecy observed respecting a proposal, of which others would have been ready to boast, that it was long unknown to the members even of his own family, and only communicated shortly before his death, by the late Sir William, to his brothers, lord Medwyn, and George Forbes, Esq., on whose authority the occurrence is now given.

So scrupulous were his feelings of duty, that they influenced him in the

minutest particulars, which by other men are decided on the suggestion of the moment, without any consideration. An instance of this occurred at Rome, in spring, 1793. Sir William was at St Peter's when high mass was performed by the late cardinal York. He naturally felt a desire to see the last descendent of a royal and unfortunate family, in whose behalf his ancestors had twice taken the field; and was in the highest degree gratified by seeing the ceremony performed by that illustrious individual. After the mass was over, it was proposed to him to be presented to the cardinal; but though very desirous of that honour, he felt at a loss by what title to address him, as he had taken the title of Henry IX., by which he was acknowledged by France and the pope. To have called him, "your majesty," seemed inconsistent with the allegiance he owed, and sincerely felt, to the reigning family in Britain; while, to have addressed him as "your eminence," merely, might have hurt the feelings of the venerable cardinal, as coming from the descendent of a house noted for their fidelity to his unfortunate family. The result was, that he declined the presentation; an honour which, but for that difficulty, would have been the object of his anxious desire.

But the end of a life of so much dignity and usefulness, the pattern of Christian grace and refined courtesy, was at length approaching. He had a long and dangerous illness in 1791, from which, at the time, he had no hopes of recovery; and which he bore with the resignation and meekness which might have been expected from his character. Though that complaint yielded to the skill of his medical friends, it left the seeds of a still more dangerous malady, in a tendency to water in the chest. In 1802, he had the misfortune to lose lady Forbes, the loved and worthy partner of his virtues; which sensibly affected his spirits, though he bore the bereavement with the firmness and hope which his strong religious principles inspired. In May, 1806, shortly after his return from London, whither he had been summoned as a witness on lord Melville's trial, he began to feel symptoms of shortness of breath; and the last house where he dined was that of his son, lord Medwyn, on occasion of the christening of one of his children, on the 28th of June, 1806. After that time, he was constantly confined to the house; the difficulty of breathing increased, and his sufferings for many months were very severe. During all this trying period, not a complaint ever escaped his lips. He constantly prayed for assistance to be enabled to bear whatever the Almighty might send; and at length death closed his memorable career, on the 12th November, 1806; when surrounded by his family, and supported by all the hopes and consolations of religion, amidst the tears of his relations, and the blessings of his country.

Sir William Forbes was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, the late Sir William, a man of the most amiable and upright character, who having been cut off in the middle of his years and usefulness, was succeeded by his son, the present Sir John, who promises to uphold the character which has now become hereditary in his race. The subject of our memoir left a large family. Besides lord Medwyn, and Mr George Forbes, who, fortunately for Edinburgh, have succeeded to the unwearied activity and benevolence of their father's character, he left five daughters, four of whom are now married: lady Wood, wife of Sir Alexander Wood; Mrs Macdonald of Glengarry; Mrs Skene of Rubislaw; and Mrs Mackenzie of Portmore. Among the other blessings which heaven vouchsafed to this excellent man, was that of seeing his family united in the way which his heart could wish, and his descendents following the career of virtue and usefulness, of which his life had afforded so spotless a specimen.

FORDYCE, GEORGE, a distinguished physician and lecturer on medicine, was born at Aberdeen, November 18, 1736, and was the only and posthumous child of Mr George Fordyce, a brother of the other three distinguished persons of the same name recorded in the present work, and the proprietor of a small landed estate, called Broadford, in the neighbourhood of that city. His mother, not long after, marrying again, he was taken from her, when about two years old, and sent to Foveran, at which place he received his school education. He was removed thence to the university of Aberdeen, where he was made M. A., when only fourteen years of age. In his childhood he had taken great delight in looking at vials of coloured liquids, which were placed at the windows of an apothecary's shop. To this circumstance, and to his acquaintance with the learned Alexander Garden, M. D., many years a physician in south Carolina, and latterly in London, but then apprentice to a surgeon and apothecary in Aberdeen, he used to attribute the resolution he very early formed to study medicine. He was in consequence sent, when about fifteen years old, to his uncle, Dr John Fordyce, who, at that time, practised medicine at Uppingham, in Northamptonshire. With him, he remained several years, and then went to the university of Edinburgh, where, after a residence of about three years, he received the degree of M.D. in October, 1758. His inaugural dissertation was upon catarrh. While at Edinburgh, Dr Cullen was so much pleased with his diligence and ingenuity, that, besides showing him many other marks of regard, he used frequently to give him private assistance in his studies. The pupil was ever after grateful for this kindness, and was accustomed to speak of his preceptor in terms of the highest respect, calling him often "his learned and revered master." About the end of 1758, he came to London, but went shortly after to Leyden, for the purpose, chiefly of studying anatomy under Albinus. He returned, in 1759, to London, where he soon determined to fix himself as a teacher and practitioner of medicine. When he made known this intention to his relations, they highly disapproved of it, as the whole of his patrimony had been expended upon his education. Inspired, however, with that confidence which frequently attends the conscious possession of great talents, he persisted in his purpose, and, before the end of 1759, commenced a course of lectures upon chemistry. This was attended by nine pupils. In 1764, he began to lecture also upon *Materia Medica* and the practice of physic. These three subjects he continued to teach nearly thirty years, giving, for the most part, three courses of lectures on each of them every year. A course lasted nearly four months; and, during it, a lecture of nearly an hour was delivered six times in the week. His time of teaching commenced about seven o'clock in the morning, and ended at ten; his lecture upon the three above mentioned subjects being given, one immediately after the other. In 1765 he was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians. In 1770 he was chosen physician to St Thomas's hospital, after a considerable contest with Sir William (then Dr) Watson; the number of votes in his favour being 109, in that of Dr Watson 106. In 1774 he became a member of the Literary Club; and in 1776 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1787 he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians. No circumstance can demonstrate more strongly the high opinion entertained of his abilities by the rest of the profession in London, than his reception into that body. He had been particularly active in the dispute, which had existed about twenty years before, between the fellows and licentiates, and had, for this reason, it was thought, forfeited all title to be admitted into the fellowship through favour. But the college, in 1787, were preparing a new edition of their *Pharmacopœia*; and there was confessedly no one of their own number well acquainted with pharmaceutical chemistry. They wisely, therefore, suppressed their resentment of his former

conduct, and, by admitting him into their body, secured his assistance in a work which they were unable to perform well themselves. In 1793 he assisted in forming a small society of physicians and surgeons, which afterwards published several volumes, under the title of "Medical and Chirurgical Transactions;" and continued to attend its meetings most punctually till within a month or two of his death. Having thus mentioned some of the principal events of his literary life, we shall next give a list of his various medical and philosophical works; and first, of those which were published by himself. 1. *Elements of Agriculture and Vegetation*. He had given a course of lectures on these subjects to some young men of rank; soon after the close of which, one of his hearers, the late Mr Stuart Mackenzie, presented him with a copy of them, from notes he had taken while they were delivered. Dr Fordyce corrected the copy, and afterwards published it under the above mentioned title. 2. *Elements of the practice of Physic*. This was used by him as a text-book for a part of his course of lectures on that subject. 3. *A Treatise on the Digestion of Food*. It was originally read before the College of Physicians, as the Guelstonian Lecture. 4. *Four Dissertations on Fever*. A fifth, which completes the subject, was left by him in manuscript, and afterwards published. His other works appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and the *Medical and Chirurgical Transactions*. In the former are eight papers by him, with the following titles: 1. *Of the Light produced by Inflammation*. 2. *Examination of various Ores in the Museum of Dr W. Hunter*. 3. *A New Method of assaying Copper Ores*. 4. *An Account of some Experiments on the Loss of Weight in Bodies on being melted or heated*. 5. *An Account of an Experiment on Heat*. 6. *The Cronian Lecture on Muscular Motion*. 7. *On the Cause of the additional Weight which Metals acquire on being calcined*. 8. *Account of a New Pendulum, being the Bakerian Lecture*.—His papers in the *Medical and Chirurgical Transactions* are: 1. *Observations on the Small-pox, and Causes of Fever*. 2. *An Attempt to improve the Evidence of Medicine*. 3. *Some Observations upon the composition of Medicines*. He was, besides, the inventor of the experiments in heated rooms, an account of which was given to the Royal Society by Sir Charles Bladgen; and was the author of many improvements in various arts connected with chemistry, on which he used frequently to be consulted by manufacturers. Though he had projected various literary works in addition to those which have been mentioned, nothing was left by him in manuscript, except the *Dissertation on Fever* already spoken of, and two introductory lectures, one to his *Course of Materia Medica*, the other to that of the *Practice of Physic*. This will not appear extraordinary to those who knew what confidence he had in the accuracy of his memory. He gave all his lectures without notes, and perhaps never possessed any; he took no memorandum in writing of the engagements he formed, whether of business or pleasure, and was always most punctual in observing them; and when he composed his works for the public, even such as describe successions of events, found together, as far as we can perceive, by no necessary tie, his materials, such at least as were his own, were altogether drawn from stores in his memory, which had often been laid up there many years before. In consequence of this retentiveness of memory, and of great reading and a most inventive mind, he was, perhaps, more generally skilled in the sciences, which are either directly subservient to medicine, or remotely connected with it, than any other person of his time. One fault in his character as an author, probably arose, either wholly or in part, from the very excellence which has been mentioned. This was his deficiency in the art of literary composition; the knowledge of which he might have insensibly acquired, to a much greater degree than was possessed by him,

had he felt the necessity in his youth of frequently committing his thoughts to writing, for the purpose of preserving them. But, whether this be just or not, it must be confessed, that, notwithstanding his great learning, which embraced many subjects no way allied to medicine, he seldom wrote elegantly, often obscurely and inaccurately; and that he frequently erred with respect even to orthography. His language, however, in conversation, which confirms the preceding conjecture, was not less correct than that of most other persons of good education. As a lecturer, his delivery was slow and hesitating, and frequently interrupted by pauses not required by his subject. Sometimes, indeed, these continued so long, that persons unaccustomed to his manner, were apt to fear that he was embarrassed. But these disadvantages did not prevent his having a considerable number of pupils, actuated by the expectation of receiving from him more full and accurate instruction than they could elsewhere obtain. His person is said to have been handsome in his youth; but his countenance, from its fulness, must have been always inexpressive of the great powers of his mind. His manners too were less refined, and his dress in general less studied, than what most persons in this country regard as proper for a physician. From these causes, and from his spending no more time with his patients than what was sufficient for his forming a just opinion of their ailments, he had for many years but little private employment in his profession; and never, even in the latter part of his life, when his reputation was at its height, enjoyed nearly so much as many of his contemporaries. It is worthy of mention, however, that the amount of his fees, during the year immediately preceding his decease, was greater, notwithstanding his advanced age and infirm health, than it had ever been before in the same space of time. He had always been fond of the pleasures of society; and in his youth, to render the enjoyment of them compatible with his pursuits after knowledge, he used to sleep very little. He has often, indeed, been known to lecture for three hours in a morning without having undressed himself the preceding night. The vigour of his constitution enabled him to sustain, for a considerable time, without apparent injury, this debilitating mode of life. But at length he was attacked with gout, which afterwards became irregular, and for many years frequently affected him with excruciating pains in his stomach and bowels. In the latter part of his life also, his feet and ancles were almost constantly swollen; and, shortly before his death, he had symptoms of water in the chest. But these he disregarded, and uniformly attributed his situation, which for several weeks previous to his death he knew to be hopeless, to the presence of the first-mentioned disease. Death ultimately relieved him from his sufferings, May 25, 1802, when he was in the 64th year of his age. By his wife, who was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Esq., conservator of Scots privileges in the United Netherlands, and whom he had married in 1762, he left four children, two sons and two daughters.

FORDYCE, JAMES, D.D., author of the *Sermons to Young Women*, was a younger brother of the subject of a preceding article, and the fourth son of his parents. He was born at Aberdeen in 1720, and received the education requisite for a minister of the Scottish church at the Marischal college. In 1752, he was appointed minister of Brechin, but soon after was removed to Alloa, where at first he had many prejudices to encounter, though his popular manners and captivating style of pulpit oratory enabled him very speedily to overcome them. During his brief residence in this parish, he published three occasional sermons, which attracted much notice; and in 1760, he increased his fame to a great degree by a discourse "On the Folly, Infamy, and Misery of Unlawful Pleasures," which he preached before the General Assembly, and afterwards gave to the public. The novelty of this sermon in a country where all the best sermons were

evangelical, and the elegance of its style and sentiments, produced a great impression throughout the country. The preacher soon after went to London, and notwithstanding the difference between the Scottish Confession of Faith and the tenets of the English dissenters, offered himself on a vacancy at the meeting in Carter Lane, but without success. About this time, he received the degree of D. D. from the university of Glasgow, and was invited by the meeting in Monkwell Street to be co-pastor with Dr Lawrence, then aged and infirm. This invitation he accepted, and upon Dr Lawrence's death, which happened soon after, he became sole pastor, and entered into the enjoyment of a very respectable income. During his ministry in this place, he acquired a higher degree of popularity than probably ever was, or ever will be attained by the same means. The strong force of his eloquence drew men of all ranks and all persuasions to hear him. His action and elocution were original, and peculiarly striking, being not a little assisted by his figure, which was tall beyond the common standard, and by a set of features which in preaching displayed great variety of expression and animation. Besides his regular attendants, who subscribed to his support, his meeting was frequented by men curious in eloquence; and it is said, that the celebrated David Garrick was more than once a hearer, and spoke of Dr Fordyce's skill in oratory with great approbation. With respect to his theological sentiments, he appears to have possessed that general liberality which is civil to all systems, without being attached to any. From his printed works, it would be easier to prove that he belonged to no sect, than that he held the principles of any. As to the matter, morality appears to have been his chief object; and as to the manner, he ardently studied a polish and a spirit, which was then seldom met with in English pulpits, although it had not been unusual in those of France.

In 1771, Dr Fordyce married Miss Henrietta Cummyngs; and in 1775, he was involved in an unhappy dispute with his coadjutor, Mr Toller, son-in-law to Dr Lawrence. This misunderstanding originated in some omission of ceremonial politeness between the two reverend gentlemen, and from the want of mutual concession, the breach widened, till reconciliation became impossible. Dr Fordyce appears, indeed, to have been of an irritable temper, which led him on this occasion to be guilty of an act which ultimately he had reason deeply to regret, as it proved most injurious to his own interest. For, on undertaking to perform the whole duty of the chapel, he possessed sufficient influence to have Mr Toller ejected from the pastoral charge. The consequence was, that the congregation became dissatisfied, split into parties, and gradually dispersed, when Dr Fordyce was obliged to resign the ministry. It is true, that bad health and the infirmities of old age had their share in constraining him to this step, but the congregation had previously almost entirely deserted the chapel, which was soon after shut up. Finding himself no longer useful as a preacher, Dr Fordyce, in the year 1783, left London, and retired first to Hampshire, and finally to Bath, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place on the 1st of October, 1796, in the 76th year of his age. We have, in the following letter from Mrs Fordyce, a very interesting and instructing narrative of this melancholy event, while it presents, at the same time, a lively picture of Dr Fordyce's piety and of some of the more amiable traits of his character.

"My dear sir, being now able to sit up, I can only say, that had the state of my health, when your last soothing but affecting letter came to hand, admitted of my writing at all, such a letter from a favourite friend, would have impelled me to give it an immediate reply. Accept, dear sir, of my gratitude for what it contained, especially for that sympathy I so much stand in need of; it is the balm of true friendship; and though it reaches me from various

quarters, still the wound bleeds, and will continue to bleed, till God shall heal it by that re-union of souls which must take place ere long.

"Hardly two people accost each other without an eulogium on his character, and a sigh for his death—but death it was not. To all human appearance, he was translated. We spent a most agreeable evening together in my dressing-room, in which he was fond of sitting, on account of the fine air of the vale behind and the prospect: for he still kept his relish for all that was beautiful in nature. We were both engrossed with William Cowper's sermon to the Jews.

"I read the hymns and psalms in the little pamphlet.—'Ah!' said he, 'this carries me back to Monkwell Street, where we sang it together with my beloved flock; the strain shall be exalted when next we sing it.' Then turning to me he said, 'we have read enough for to night—before you call for supper, let us have some music.' My niece is a very fine performer—she immediately sat down to accompany him in some of his favourite airs on the piano-forte; and a very fine cadence she sung, so delighted him, that he made her do it over again, and turning to me, he said, 'How many things have we to be grateful for! The musical ear is a gift peculiar to some, withheld from others; there are many things in life richly to be enjoyed; all that leads up to God we may delight in; but whatever has no reference to him, we should avoid. There are books called religious offices, preparations for the sacrament, and preparations for death, &c.; but for my own part, I never could think that such preparations consisted in such times being set apart for offices, and then returning to the world, as having done with heaven for the time being. A man is not truly prepared for death, unless by the tenor of his life he feels himself so wholly given up to God, that his mind is in heaven, before he goes hence; and he can only bring himself to that, by the perpetual silent reference in all his words, thoughts, and actions, to his Creator, which I have so often mentioned to you.' I replied, 'That indeed, doctor, is the test or criterion, to judge himself by, for a man dare have no reference or appeal for his actions to God, if his deeds condemn him to his own conscience.'—'God be praised,' said he, 'if I should leave you, I desire you may avail yourself of them.' In addition to religion and the Scriptures, there are books, friendships and music: I would name more, but these are sufficient;—cast yourself on God through your Redeemer. He will care for you and raise you up friends.' I aimed at changing the conversation, and said, 'But you are better, my dear.' 'I am certainly easier,' he replied, and have had less pain and better symptoms for two or three weeks past; and I assure you, my beloved, I am not tired of life at all: for though the Almighty knows I have been long ready for the summons, yet if it is his pleasure to let the lamp of life burn on a little longer, I am satisfied, and I am his.'

"He sat his usual time after supper, which he partook of in a moderate way, without any disrelish. About eleven he rang for the servants, who with my niece and myself attended him every night to his bed-chamber. To my unspeakable joy, it seemed to cost him much less effort than common to mount the stairs; which formerly was so painful a task, that at every landing place a chair was set for him to rest on, ere he could ascend to the next. He joined us all in observing with gratitude and wonder, that he should gain more ease by living longer. He and I conversed in a very pleasing style on various subjects till about one o'clock, and then he urged my going to bed, lest I should be hurt by such late hours. He also forbade me to get up in the night, as anxiety about him had often made me do, unless I should hear him call me; he made me promise I would not, after which we embraced. I left him very happy, comfortable, and serene; I might add even cheerful. We both

slept in our different apartments, and mine had a door of communication with his, so he could not stir without my hearing. He awoke about two o'clock and lighted a wax bougie at his lamp, one of which stood on a dumb waiter, at his bed-side, with his medicines and cordials. He lighted it to take the ethereal spirit; but forgetting to blow it out, it unluckily took fire in the bunch; the smell of which awoke him perhaps in some alarm. He then called to me, who was just in my first sleep, and springing up eagerly in the dark, I stumbled, and struck my head against the door; the blow for a few minutes stunned me and made me reel in coming up to him. I affected to be well that he might not be alarmed. 'I called to you, my love, lest the smell of fire which the bougie occasioned, might have frightened you. You have paid dear for coming to me by this blow.' Saying so he got up, and calling the women with a firm voice three or four times, they and my niece were all at once with us. I was praying him to return to bed, but he refused until he should get me, from their hands, some *sal volatile*. He then said, 'Are you better?' I answered 'O well, well.'—'God be praised,' said he, raising his hands, and with the words in his mouth he fell in our arms without a groan, a sigh, or so much as the rattle in the throat. The spirit was instantly fled and for ever, to the God that gave it. He was taken from my arms, who will ever live in my heart, and I saw him no more."

Dr Fordyce's first literary attempt was made as editor of the posthumous work of his brother, Mr David Fordyce, published in 1752, entitled the "Art of Preaching." But he is best known to the world by the ingenious and elegant sermons which he addressed to young women; and his addresses to young men. He was author, however, of several other publications,¹ and was remarkable for the energy and usefulness of his pulpit instructions. His private character was amiable, his manners those of a gentleman and Christian. He blended great cheerfulness with sincere and ardent piety. He possessed a cultivated understanding, a warm heart, and great liberality of sentiment. He was a steady friend of civil and religious toleration—not from indifference but from a true spirit of Christian philanthropy.

FORDYCE, SIR WILLIAM, F.R.S., a distinguished physician, was a younger brother of David and James Fordyce, whose lives have already been recorded, and was born in the year 1724. Like his brethren, he was educated at the

¹ The following is a list of Dr Fordyce's works.

1. "The eloquence of the Pulpit, an ordination sermon, to which is added a charge," 12mo, 1752.

2. "An essay on the action proper for the pulpit," 12mo. Both these are published at the end of "Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the art of preaching, by David Fordyce," 3d edition, 12mo, 1755.

3. "The method of edification by public instruction," an ordination sermon, to which is added a charge, 12mo, 1754. These were delivered at the ordination of Mr John Gibson, minister of St Ninians, May 9th, 1754.

4. "The Temple of Virtue," a dream, 12mo, 1747. 2d edition, much altered, 1755.

5. "The folly, infamy, and misery of unlawful pleasures," a sermon preached before the general assembly of the church of Scotland, 25th May, 1760—8vo, 1760.

6. "A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Dr Samuel Lawrence, who departed this life 1st October, 1760, with an address at his interment," 8vo, 1760.

7. "Sermons to young women," 2 vols. 12mo, 1766.

8. "The character and conduct of the female sex, and the advantages to be derived by young men from the society of virtuous young women;" a discourse in three parts, delivered in Monkwell Street chapel, 1st January, 1776, 8vo, 1776.

9. "Addresses to young men," 2 vols. 12mo, 1777.

10. "The delusive and persecuting spirit of popery;" a sermon preached in the Monkwell Street chapel on the 10th of February, being the day appointed for the general fast, 8vo, 1779.

11. "Charge delivered in Monkwell Street chapel, at the ordination of the Rev. James Lindsay," 8vo, 1783. Printed with the sermon delivered by Dr Hunter on that occasion.

12. "Addresses to the Deity," 12mo.

13. "Poems," 12mo, 1786.

Marischal college, of which he died lord rector. At the age of eighteen, he finished his academic studies, in which he had distinguished himself, particularly by his proficiency in Greek and mathematics, the most solid as well as the most ornamental parts of academic knowledge. Having studied physic and surgery under a native practitioner, he joined the army as a volunteer, and afterwards served as surgeon to the brigade of guards on the coast of France, and in all the military transactions which took place in Germany. The warm support of his military friends co-operated with his own merit in early recommending him to distinguished practice in London. His publications, particularly his treatise on fevers and ulcerated sore throat, greatly extended his fame; and he was sent for to greater distances, and received larger fees, than almost any physician of his time. The wealth which he thus acquired he liberally expended in benevolent actions, and was thus the means of doing much good, as well as some harm. Having patronized his brother Alexander, who was a banker in London, he enabled that individual to enter upon an unusually extensive series of transactions, which, though sound in themselves, exposed him to a malevolent combination of his brethren in trade, and hence the great bankruptcy of Fordyce and Co., which may be termed one of the most important domestic events in Britain during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Besides the losses which Sir William Fordyce thus incurred, he soon after became engaged for ten thousand pounds more, which was lost by his brother in the project of a manufacture which totally failed; and had it not been for the generosity of the Messrs Drummond, bankers, who advanced him the necessary sum, he must have submitted to a loss of personal liberty. Notwithstanding these severe shocks to his fortune, Sir William continued to maintain two poor families, whom he had taken under his patronage, and who had no other resource. It is also to be mentioned, to the honour of this excellent man, that, besides his own losses by Alexander, he repaid those incurred by his brother James, amounting to several thousand pounds. The benevolence of Sir William Fordyce was a kind of enthusiasm. When he heard of a friend being ill, he would run to give him his advice, and take no fee for his trouble. His house was open to all kinds of meritorious persons in distressed circumstances, and he hardly ever wanted company of this kind. He was also indefatigable in his good offices towards young Scotsmen who had come to London in search of employment. His address had much of the courtly suavity of a past age, and his conversation, while unassuming, was replete with elegant anecdote and solid information. His eye beamed gentleness and humanity, ennobled by penetration and spirit. Although originally of a delicate constitution, by temperance and exercise he preserved his health for many years, but suffered at last a long and severe illness, which ended in his death, December 4, 1792. Sir William, who had been knighted about 1787, wrote a treatise on the Venereal Disease, another, as already mentioned, on Fevers, and a third on Ulcerated Sore Throat; besides which, he published, immediately before his death, a pamphlet on the "Great Importance and Proper Method of Cultivating Rhubarb in Britain for medicinal uses."

FORDUN, or DE FORDUN, JOHN, the celebrated author of the "*Scotichronicon*," was probably born about the middle of the fourteenth century, and at the village of Fordun, in Kincardineshire, from which he seems to have taken his name. Walter Bower, the continuator of his history, speaks of him as a simple man, who never graduated in the schools. It would appear, however, that he possessed sufficient learning to fit him for the profession of a priest, and the composition of a Latin history, as these two various kinds of labour were then practised. He was a priest of the diocese of St Andrews, and a canon of the church of Aberdeen, where he is said to have resided at the time when he composed his his-

tory. This great composition was in progress, as he himself informs us, in the reign of Richard II. of England, which extended between the years 1387, and 1399; and this, vague as it is, is one of the few dates that can be supplied respecting the life of the chronicler. The work produced by Fordun, though deformed by the superstitious and incorrect ideas of the age, is nevertheless a respectable production, fully qualified to bear comparison with the works of the contemporary English historians. The merit of the author is increased in no mean degree by the motive which prompted him to undertake the composition—a desire of supplying the want of those historical monuments which Edward I. carried away to England. To quote the quaint words of a monkish writer¹: “After the loss of these chronicles, a venerable Scottish priest, by name John Fordun, arose, and feeling his heart titillated and effervescent with patriotic zeal, he applied his hand boldly to the work; nor did he desist from the undertaking, until, by the most laborious study and perseverance, traversing England and the adjacent provinces of his own country, he had recovered so much of the lost materials as enabled him to compose five volumes of the delectable gestic of the Scots, which he drew up in a sufficiently chronicle-like style, as they are to be found in the great volume entitled, the ‘*Scotichronicon*.’ In this undertaking, it is impossible to refrain from bestowing great praise upon the industry of the author. For, adverting to the fact, that to commit all the records of past ages to the memory, is the attribute of God rather than man; he, upon this consideration travelled on foot, like an unwearied and investigating bee, through the flowery meadows of Britain, and into the oracular recesses of Ireland; taking his way through provinces and towns, through universities and colleges, through churches and monasteries, entering into conversation, and not unfrequently sharing at bed and board with historians and chronologists; turning over their books, debating and disputing with them, and pricking down, or intitulating in his descriptive tablets all that most pleased him; in this manner, and by pursuing indefatigable investigation, he became possessed of the knowledge which was before unknown to him, and collecting it with studious care in the revolving sinuosities of his parchment code, like rich honeycombs in an historical hive, he, as I have already premised, divided them into five books of elegant composition, which brought down the history to the death of the sainted king David.”

The result of Fordun's labours is, that we possess an account of several ages of Scottish history, which otherwise would have been in a great measure blank. The two first of the five books into which he divides his work, may be laid aside, as relating only to the fabulous part of the history; the last refers to the period between 1056, and 1153, and is a valuable piece of history. Posterior to the year last mentioned, Fordun has only written detached notes, which, however, are themselves of no small value for the facts which they contain. When the venerable canon found himself too infirm to continue his labours, he committed the materials which he had collected to Walter Bower, who, as noticed elsewhere, became abbot of Inchcolm in 1418, and by whom the work was brought down to the year 1436. The *Scotichronicon* was afterwards copied in various monasteries, and has accordingly been handed down in several shapes, each slightly different from the other, under the titles of the Book of Scone, the Book of Paisley, and other denominations. Finally, the earlier part formed a substructure for the amplified work of Hector Boece, and the elegant one of Buchanan. The work itself has been twice printed, first at Oxford, by Hearne, in five vols. 8vo. and afterwards at Edinburgh in one volume folio, with a preface by Goodal; but a translation is still a desideratum in Scottish historical literature.

¹ As translated by Mr P. F. Tytler, in his “*Lives of Scottish Worthies*,” article Fordun.

FORRESTER, REV. THOMAS, was the *third* minister of Melrose after the reformation, the second being Mr John Knox, a nephew of the Reformer, whom Forrester succeeded in 1623. This reverend divine was a very extraordinary character in his time. While the attempts of Charles I. to complete an episcopal system of church-government in Scotland, were the subject of violent and universal discontent, at least in the southern parts of the kingdom, Forrester appears to have beheld them with the utmost gratulation and triumph, giving way to his feelings in occasional satires upon those who opposed the court. His vein of poetry is generally allowed to have been of no mean order; and even in a later age, when many of the allusions are unintelligible, its poignancy is sufficiently obvious. This was accompanied by a general eccentricity of conduct and opinion, which must have then been deemed highly indecorous. For instance, he publicly declared that some kinds of work might be done on the Lord's day; and, as an example to his people, brought home his corn on that day from the harvest field. He maintained that the public and ordinary preaching of the word, was no necessary part of divine worship, that the reading of the liturgy was preferable to it, and that pastors and private christians should use no other prayers, than what were prescribed by authority. He made no scruple to declare, that the reformers had done more harm to the Christian church, than the Popes at Rome had done for ten ages. It may easily be supposed, that a man who acted upon maxims so opposite to the spirit of the age, could not be very popular, either with his brethren or the public. Accordingly, among the acts of the general assembly of 1638, when the authority of the court was set at defiance, we find the deposition of Mr Thomas Forrester, accused of popery, Arminianism, and other offences.

The reverend satirist appears to have indulged himself in a characteristic revenge. He composed a mock litany, in which the most respected characters of the day, and the most solemn of their proceedings, were mercilessly ridiculed. It begins with an allusion to the assembly by which he had been deposed.

From Glasgow Raid, to which mad meeting,
Huge troops from all quarters came fleeting,
With dags and guns in form of war,
All loyal subjects to debar;
Where bishops might not show their faces,
And mushroom elders filled their places:
From such mad pranks of Catherus,
Almighty God deliver us!

From sitting in that convocation,
Discharged by open proclamation,
Who did not stir till they had ended
All the mischief they had intended;
From all their cobbling knobs and knacks,
Set out in form of public acts,
And all such pranks, &c.

From a subsequent stanza, it might perhaps be inferred, that Forrester had endeavoured to publish a pamphlet in favour of the episcopal cause, but was prevented by the covenanters having command of the printing house:—

From usurping the king's press,
So that no book could have access,
Which might maintain the king's just title,
Or cross the covenant ne'er so little;

It's strange, though true, books of that strain,
Are barred under the highest pain,
And all such pranks, &c.

Some other specimens of this curious, but harmless effusion of anti-covenanting wrath, are subjoined:—

From one thing said, another seen,
From the outrage done to Aberdeen;
From hollow hearts and hollow faces,
From ridiculous prayers and graces;
From peremptorie reprobation,
From Henderson's rebaptization,¹
And all such pranks, &c.

• * *
From turn-coat preachers' supplications,
And from their mental reservations,
From lawless excommunications,
From laics' household congregations,
From unsupportable taxations—
Thir are the covenanting actions,
And all such pranks, &c.

* • *
From Dunse Law's rebels rabbled out,
Rascals from all quarters sought out,
Fair England's forces to defeat,
Without armour, money, or meat:
'True, some had forks, some roustie dags,
And some had bannocks in their bags,
And all such pranks, &c.

From the Tables' emissaries,
From mutineers of all degrees:
Priests, lords, judges, and clerks of touns,
Proud citizens, poor country clowns;
Who in all courses disagree,
But join to cross authoritie,
From all such pranks, &c.

• * •
From Will Dick,² that usurious chuff,
His feathered cap, his coat of buff;
For all the world a saddled sow,
A worthie man and general too;
From both the Duries, these mad sparks,
One bribing judge, two cheating clerks,
And all such pranks, &c.

* * *
From the most stupid senseless ass
That ever brayed, my cousin Casse,³

¹ An allusion to the celebrated Alexander Henderson, who at first was an episcopalian.

² The celebrated provost of Edinburgh, who contributed so much "*sineu*" to the covenanting war.

³ Probably meaning Sir Thomas Hope of Carse, lord-advocate—the chief legal adviser of the Covenanters. No description could be more unjust than that in the text, though the verse is certainly a witty one.

He is the assembly's voice, and so,
 Th' assembly is his echo.
 The fool speaks first, and all the rest
 To say the same are ready prest,
 And all such pranks, &c.

The poet concludes with the two following stanzas :

From noble beggars, beggar-makers,
 From all bold and blood undertakers,
 From hungry catch-poles, knighted louns,
 From perfumed puppies and baboons,
 From caterpillars, moths, and rats,
 Horse-leeches, state blood-sucking bats,
 And all such pranks, &c.

From Sandie Hall, and Sandie Gibson,
 Sandie Kinneir, and Sandie Johnston,
 Whose knavery made then covenanters,
 To keep their necks out of the helters
 Of falsehood, greed, when you'll't name,
 Of treachery they think no shame;
 Yet these the mates of Catherus,
 From whome good Lord deliver us ! ⁴

Of the ultimate fate of this strange satirist we have met with no record.

FORSYTH, WILLIAM, distinguished in the science of arboriculture, was born at Old Meldrum, in Aberdeenshire, in 1737. Having been bred to the business of a gardener, he went to London in 1763, and soon after became a pupil of the celebrated Philip Miller, gardener to the company of apothecaries, at their physic-garden in Chelsea. In 1771, he succeeded his master in this respectable situation, in which he remained till 1784, when he was appointed by George III. chief superintendent of the royal gardens at Kensington and St James's, which employments he held till his death.

About the year 1768, Mr Forsyth paid particular attention to the cultivation of fruit and forest trees, and turned his thoughts more especially to the discovery of a composition to remedy the diseases and injuries incident to them. After repeated trials, he at length succeeded in preparing one which fully answered his expectations ; and in the year 1789, the success of his experiments attracted the notice of the commissioners of the land revenue, upon whose recommendation a committee of both houses of parliament was appointed to report upon the merits of his discovery. The result of their inquiries was a perfect conviction of its utility, and in consequence, an address was voted by the house of commons to his majesty, praying that a reward might be granted to Mr Forsyth, upon his disclosing the secret of his composition to the public ; which was accordingly done : and in 1791, Mr Forsyth published his "Observations on the diseases, defects, and injuries of fruit and forest trees," which also contains the correspondence between the commissioners of the land revenue, the committee of parliament, and himself. In 1802, he published the final result of his labours in "A treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees." In this work, or in Rees's Cyclopædia, *article* "Composition for trees," may be found a complete account of Mr Forsyth's discoveries and mode of treat-

⁴ We copy these extracts from an exceedingly curious volume, entitled "A Book of Scottish Pasquils," printed in 1823. Catherus is a cant word for puritan, formed from the Greek, *Katharoi, puri*.

ing injured wood. It may be sufficient here to mention, that his composition, or medicament, was formed according to the following receipt: "Take one bushel of fresh cow-dung, half a bushel of lime-rubbish of old buildings, (that from the ceilings of rooms is preferable,) half a bushel of wood-ashes, and a sixteenth part of a bushel of pit or river sand; the three last articles are to be sifted fine before they are mixed; then work them well together with a spade, and afterwards with a wooden beater, until the stuff is very smooth, like fine plaster used for the ceilings of rooms."

Mr Forsyth, who was a member of the Antiquarian, Linnæan, and other societies, died July 25, 1804. He enjoyed the honours paid to him for his useful invention, with an unaffected modesty, which gave them a higher grace; and his benevolence and private worth were warmly attested by his friends. A particular genus of plants has been named Forsythia, in honour of his name.

FOULIS, ROBERT and ANDREW, eminent printers in the eighteenth century, were natives of Glasgow, and were born, the elder brother on the 20th of April, 1707, and the younger on the 23d of November, 1712. Their mother, who seems to have possessed shrewdness and intelligence beyond her station, educated them at first under her own care, and had not Robert's talents attracted attention, they would probably never have proceeded farther in the acquisition of knowledge. At an early age Robert was sent an apprentice to a barber; it would even seem that he afterwards practised the art on his own account for some time. While thus humbly employed, he came under the notice of the celebrated Dr Francis Hutcheson, then professor of moral philosophy in Glasgow university. This acute observer discovered his talents,—inflamed his desire for knowledge,—and suggested to him the idea of becoming a bookseller and printer. Foulis did not, however, receive a complete university education, although he attended his patron's lectures for several years, and his name is so enrolled in the matriculation book. Andrew, who seems to have been designed for the church, entered the university in 1727, and probably went through a regular course of study.

For some years after they had determined to follow a literary life, the brothers were engaged in teaching the languages during the winter, and in making short tours into England and to the continent in summer. These excursions were of great advantage to them; they brought them into contact with eminent men, enabled them to form connexions in their business, and extended their knowledge of books. On some of these occasions they made considerable collections, which they sold at home to good account. Thus prepared, the elder brother began business in Glasgow as a bookseller about the end of 1739, and in the following year published several works. Three years afterwards his connexion with the university commenced. In March, 1743, he was appointed their printer, under condition "that he shall not use the designation of university printer without allowance from the university meeting in any books excepting those of ancient authors."¹ The first productions of his press, which were issued in 1742, were almost exclusively of a religious nature, many of them relating to the well known George Whitefield. In 1742, he published Demetrius Phalereus de Elocutione, apparently the first Greek work printed in Glasgow, although we are certain that there existed a fount of Greek letters there nearly a century before. It would be tedious to notice each work as it appeared: the immaculate edition of Horace, an edition of Cicero's works in twenty volumes, Cæsar's Commentaries in folio, Callimachus in the same size, with engravings executed at their academy, form but a small part of the splendid catalogue of their classics.

¹ The date at which Andrew joined him in business is somewhat uncertain.

The success which had attended their exertions as printers, induced the elder Foulis to attempt the establishment of an academy for the cultivation of the fine arts, a scheme for which Scotland was but ill prepared by the dissensions which had followed the union, and which had been succeeded by the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In 1751, he went abroad, partly with the view of extending his commercial connexions, but principally with the intention of arranging for the establishment of this institution. After remaining on the continent for about two years, and sending home several artists whom he had engaged in his service, he returned to Scotland in 1753. His design was considered romantic; many of his friends exerted all their eloquence to persuade him to desist. But Foulis, who possessed a degree of determination which might perhaps not unjustly be termed obstinacy, was fixed in his "high resolve," and although he must have observed with mortification, that (to use his own expression) "there seemed to be a pretty general emulation who should run the scheme most down," he established his academy in the course of the same year. He soon found that he had embarked in an undertaking of no common difficulty. From a letter in the Scots Magazine for 1759, it appears that the selection of proper teachers had cost him much trouble and anxiety. He had to contend, besides, with the national prejudices in favour of the works of foreign artists; and after amassing a considerable collection, he found it extremely difficult to dispose of it to advantage. In the same year it was proposed, that such persons as were willing to support the institution should advance certain sums yearly, for which they should be entitled to select prints, designs, paintings, &c. to the amount of their subscriptions.

In the meantime, the operations of their press went on with increasing vigour. If we may judge from the catalogue of their books, the period between 1750 and 1757, seems to have been the most flourishing era in their trade. During that time "Proposals for publishing² by subscription the whole works of Plato" were issued, and considerable progress made in collating MSS. in the Vatican and national libraries. But the embarrassments occasioned by the ill-fated academy seem to have prevented the publication of this as well as many other works, which might have added much both to their fame and their wealth. Yet while we condemn the obstinacy with which this institution was carried on, when it was a daily source of anxiety and pecuniary difficulties, it should be remembered, that it was the means of bringing forward the "Scottish Hogarth," David Allan, and Tassie the medalist. The latter of these, while a stone mason, acquired a relish for the arts in visiting the academy on a holiday, when the pictures were generally exhibited gratis.

It would be foreign to the purpose of the present work to notice the various books which issued from the Foulis press at this and subsequent periods. It may be sufficient to say, that in the latter part of their history the brothers seem to have lost much of their original energy, and the celebrity of their press may be considered as expiring with their folio edition of Milton, published in 1770. They continued, indeed, to print till the death of Andrew, which took place suddenly on the 18th of September, 1775; but many of the works published at that period were of inferior workmanship.

We shall close the history of these remarkable but unfortunate men in a few

² As a curious estimate of the expense of classical reading in these days, we extract the first article in the proposals. "I. In nine volumes in quarto, of which the Greek in six volumes and the Latin translation with the notes in three. The price to subscribers, one penny sterling per sheet. The whole will be contained in about 500 sheets, so the price will be about £2, 1s. 8d. in quires, on a fair paper. A number will be printed on a fine large paper at twopence sterling per sheet."

words. After the death of the younger brother, it was determined to expose the works belonging to the academy to public sale. For this purpose Robert, accompanied by a confidential workman, went to London about the month of April, 1776. Contrary to the advice of the auctioneer, and at a period when the market was glutted by yearly importations of pictures from Paris, his collection was sold off,—and, as the reader may have anticipated, greatly under their supposed value. Irritated at the failure of this his last hope, and with a constitution exhausted by calamities, he left London and reached Edinburgh on his way homeward. On the morning on which he intended setting out for Glasgow he expired almost instantaneously, in the 69th year of his age.

Robert Foulis was twice married. From his second marriage with a daughter of Mr Boucher, a seedsman in Edinburgh, was descended the late Andrew Foulis, who died at Edinburgh, in great poverty, in 1829. He had, besides, by his first marriage with Elizabeth Moor, a sister of the celebrated Grecian, five daughters; all of whom are now dead.

Of the Scottish works produced at the Foulis press the greater number were ballads, some of them original, and all of them since published in the collections of bishop Percy, Ritson, Cromek, &c. The “*Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain*” in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., published by Lord Hailes, principally from the Denmylne MSS. in the Advocates’ Library, were also published at Glasgow. But the greatest service that they could have performed for Scottish history, would have been the publication of Calderwood’s MS. history. This they undoubtedly had in view. It appears from the records of the university of Glasgow that they got permission to borrow their MS.³ in September, 1768. They did not, however, accomplish their patriotic purpose, and this valuable work still remains accessible only to the historian and the antiquary. Let us hope that the period is not far distant, when some of the clubs of the present day shall immortalize themselves by laying it before the public.⁴

FRASER, SIMON, twelfth lord Lovat, a person too remarkable in history to be overlooked in this work, though his want of public or private virtue might otherwise have dictated his exclusion, was the second son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, by Sybilla Macleod, daughter of the laird of Macleod, and was born at Beaufort, near Inverness, in the year 1667. Of his early years we have no very distinct account. He has himself asserted that, at the age of thirteen, he was imprisoned for his exertions in the royal cause, though we do not well see how this could happen. That his elder brother, however, was in the insurrection of the viscount Dundee, and himself, after the death of Dundee, in that under general Buchan, is certain. After all the pains his lordship has been at to set forth his extreme zeal for the Stuarts, nothing can be more evident than that, from his earliest days, the sole purpose of his life was to promote his own power by all feasible means, this end being the only object of his solicitude. Agreeably to this view of his character, we find him in the year 1694, while yet a student at the university of Aberdeen, accepting of a commission in the regiment of lord Murray, afterwards earl of Tullibardine. This commission had been procured for him by his cousin, Hugh lord Lovat, who was brother-in-law to lord Murray, with the express view of bringing him “forward most advantageously in the world;” and though he professed to have scruples in going against the interest of king James, these were all laid asleep by an assurance, on the part of lord Murray, that the regiment, though ostensibly

³ It is not, however, the original MS.

⁴ Abridged from a volume entitled “*Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow*,” presented by Richard Duncan, Esq., to the Maitland Club.

raised, and in the meantime to take the oaths to, and receive the pay of king William, was really intended for king James, who would not fail to be in the country to lay claim to and revive his rights in the course of the succeeding year. No sooner had young Beaufort received this assurance than he led into the regiment a complete company, almost entirely made up of the young gentlemen of his clan. In the course of the succeeding year, lord Murray was, by the favour of king William, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and, in place of doing any thing for king James, enforced upon every officer in his regiment the oath of abjuration.

Being a young man, at liberty to follow out his education, and in the regular receipt of his pay, Beaufort, it might have been supposed, would have found his situation comfortable, and been, in some measure, content; but his spirit seems to have been naturally restless, and any thing like an under part in the drama of life did not square with his disposition. In the course of the year 1696, a company of lord Murray's regiment being stationed at the castle of Edinburgh, where the earl Marischal, lord Drummond, and other of the Jacobite lords were imprisoned, a visit from the Pretender being at the time expected, Simon, the subject of this narrative, entered into an engagement with the rebel lords to seize upon the castle, and to hold it under the earl Marischal for the French and king James. In this project, which appears not to have been executed, only because the French were unable to make the promised demonstration, Beaufort was to have been assisted by another captain of the same regiment, who seems to have been equally faithless and equally servile with himself.

But while he was thus careful to watch the tides, and to take advantage of every wind that might ruffle the ocean of politics, his eye was steadily fixed upon the estate of Lovat, which, as his cousin Hugh lord Lovat had but one child, a daughter, he had already marked out as his own. For this end he seems to have embraced every opportunity of ingratiating himself with his cousin, who appears to have been a man of a facile and vacillating disposition, and to have been considerably under the influence of lord Murray, his brother-in-law. Of this influence, Simon of Beaufort was perfectly aware, and watched with the utmost assiduity an opportunity to destroy it. This opportunity lord Murray himself afforded him in the affair of the colonelcy of the regiment, which, upon his appointment to the office of secretary, it was expected he would have given up to his brother-in-law, lord Lovat. Nor is it at all unlikely that such was originally his lordship's intention; for, in the year 1696, he sent for him to London, apparently with the intention of doing so, after having presented him to the king. Lovat unfortunately carried along with him his cousin, Simon, whose character must, by this time, have been pretty well known to king William, and whose companionship, of course, could be no great recommendation to the royal favour. Lovat was, however, presented to the royal presence, most graciously received, and gratified with a promise of being provided for. As this was all that Lovat expected, he took leave of his majesty, along with lord Murray, leaving no room for William to suppose, for the present at least, that he either wished or had any occasion for a further interview. This his cousin Simon highly resented, telling him that it was a contrivance of lord Murray's to deprive him of an opportunity of soliciting a regiment for himself, and he prevailed with him instantly to demand of lord Murray the reason for which he had brought them at this time to London, at such an enormous expense. Lord Murray frankly told him that it was his design to have resigned to him the command of his regiment, but that the king had positively enjoined him to keep it in his own hands till such time as the

rumours of an invasion should subside, when he should certainly surrender it into his hands.

Had Lovat been left to himself, this answer would most probably have been altogether satisfactory ; but it did not satisfy Simon nor his friends lord Tarnbat and Alexander Mackenzie, son to the earl of Seaforth, both of whom were at that time in London, and were of service to Beaufort in persuading lord Lovat that lord Murray had been all along his mortal enemy. By the advice of all three, Lovat sent back to lord Murray two commissions, that of captain and lieutenant-colonel, which he held under him, expressing, at the same time, in strong language, his resentment of his treachery, and his fixed resolution never more to see him nor any individual of his family, excepting his own wife. At the same time that the poor old man was thus eager in casting off his old friends, he was equally warm in his attachment to the new. "Impressed with the tender affection of the laird of Beaufort, and the resolution he manifested never to leave him, he declared that he regarded him as his own son ;" and as he had executed, at his marriage, some papers which might perhaps be prejudicial to the claims of this said adopted son, he obliged him to send for an attorney, and made a universal bequest to him of all his estates, in case he died without male issue. This affectionate conduct on the part of lord Lovat, deeply, according to his own account of the matter, affected our hero, who pretended "that he would for ever consider him as his father." In consequence of so much anxious business, so much chagrin and disappointment, with a pretty reasonable attendance on taverns, lord Lovat fell sick ; but after convalescing a little, was brought on his way home as far as Edinburgh by his affectionate Simon, where he left him, proceeding by the way of Dunkeld to meet with his wife. He had not been many days at Dunkeld when he again fell sick, and retired to an inn at Perth, where he was again waited on by Simon of Beaufort, and, in a state of distraction, died in his arms the morning after his arrival.

Though, as we have seen, the subject of this memoir had got a deed executed by a London attorney under the direction of his cousin, the late lord Lovat, constituting him heir to the estate, it was judged by him the more prudent method to put forward his father, as the nearest male heir, to take possession of the estate, with the honours, contenting himself with the title of master of Lovat. No sooner, however, had he assumed this title than he was questioned on the subject by his colonel, now lord Tullibardine, who made him the offer of a regiment, with other preferments, which should be to him an ample provision for life, provided he would execute a formal surrender of his claim to that dignity. This produced a violent altercation between them, which ended in the master of Lovat throwing up his commission, which he bade his lordship, if he pleased, bestow upon his own footman. Through the friendship of Sir Thomas Livingston, however, he received another company in the regiment of Macgill, and his father having taken possession of the estate and the honours of Lovat, without much apparent opposition, he must have been, in some degree, satisfied with his good fortune. In order, however, to secure it, and to render his claims in every respect unexceptionable, he made love to the heiress of his cousin, the late lord Lovat, and had succeeded in persuading her to marry him, without the knowledge of her friends, when one of his agents betrayed trust, and she was carried out of his way by the marquis of Athol, after the day of the marriage had actually been appointed.

The marquis of Athol, late lord Tullibardine, probably aware that he had an adversary of no common activity to deal with, lost no time in concluding a match for the heiress with lord Salton, or Fraser, whom he also took measures

for having declared head of the clan Fraser. The first part of his plan was not difficult to have been executed; but the latter part, for which the first was alone contemplated, was not of so easy a character, being opposed to the spirit of Highland clanship. A considerable time, however, was spent in attempting to bring it to bear. A few Frasers only could be brought to engage in it; whose treachery no sooner came to the ears of the lord and the master of Lovat, than orders were issued to apprehend and punish them according to their deserts; and it was only by a timely and well-concerted flight that they escaped being hanged. A letter was, at the same time, sent to lord Salton, signed by the principal men of the clan, begging him not to attempt forcing himself upon them, and thus destroying their tranquillity, and endangering his own life. Salton returned a soft answer; but, confident in the power of the marquis of Athol, and, at any rate, in love with the consequence attached to the fair estate of Lovat, whether he was in love with the heiress or not, persevered in following out his plan, and with a considerable train of retainers came to Beaufort, at that time the residence of the dowager of Lovat, whose son-in-law he intended to be. Thomas, lord Lovat, happened to be at this time on the Stratherick estate, a district which stretches along the south bank of Lochness, and was requested by his son Simon, to cross the lake by the nearest way to Lovat, which is only three miles from Beaufort, in order to meet with lord Salton, while he himself hastened to the same place by the way of Inverness. At Inverness the master learned that lord Salton, persevering in his original design, had fully matured his plans at the house of the dowager lady Lovat, whence he intended next day to return into his own country, calling at Athol, and marrying the heiress of Lovat by the way, without waiting to see either the lord or the master of Lovat. Irritated, as well as alarmed by this intelligence, he wrote by a special messenger to lord Salton, calling upon him to adhere to his word "passed both to his father and himself, and to meet him next day at two o'clock in the afternoon, three miles from Beaufort, either like a friend, or with sword and pistols, as he pleased." This letter lord Salton received at six o'clock in the evening, and returned for answer that he would meet the master of Lovat at the time and place appointed, as his good friend and humble servant. In the meantime it was concluded by him and his followers to break up from their present quarters, and to pass the bridge of Inverness before the master of Lovat could have any suspicion of their being in motion, and thus escape a meeting with him for the present. The master, however, was too good a calculator of probabilities in this sort of intercourse to be thus taken in, especially as his messenger to lord Salton, from what he had observed at Beaufort, had strong suspicions of what was intended. He was, accordingly, at the road very early in the morning, attended by six gentlemen and two servants, all well mounted and armed, and meeting lord Salton, lord Mungo Murray, and their followers, to the number of forty, issuing from a defile in the wood of Bunchrive, about five miles from Inverness, disarmed and dismounted them; first lord Mungo Murray, then lord Salton, and the rest singly as they came forward, without stroke of sword or the firing of a single musket. Though the party of the master of Lovat was so inconsiderable at the outset, lord Salton and his party soon found themselves surrounded by some hundreds of enraged enemies, by whom, under the direction of the master, they were carried prisoners to the castle of Fanellan, where they were closely shut up under a certification that they should be all hanged for their attempt to intrude themselves into the inheritance, and to deprive the owner of his lawful and hereditary rights. Nor had they any right to consider this as a mere bravado: the history

of clan wars could easily furnish them with numerous examples of such barbarous atrocity, where there was not greater provocation.

Having thus completely marred the marriage of lord Salton, the master of Lovat immediately set about the celebration of his own. The heiress of Lovat was safe in the hands of her friends at Athol; but the dowager, her mother, was in the house of Beaufort, every avenue to which he beset with his followers, so that it was out of her power to inform her friends of any thing that was going on; then, entering the house with a parson, whether catholic or episcopal is unknown, he made the lady go through the form of marriage with himself, had her forcibly undressed and put to bed, whither he as forcibly followed her before witnesses, thus constituting it, as he supposed, a lawful marriage. This is one of the most atrocious of the many revolting actions in the life of this profligate nobleman, though one to which he has given a flat denial in the memoir which he has written of himself. The truth is, it was as foolish as it was wicked; and, after the purpose for which it was committed, viz. to remove the enmity of the Athol family, had utterly failed, he himself must have been heartily ashamed of it. There is, indeed, a total falsehood in one reason that he insists upon as proving its improbability. She was old enough, he says, to have been his mother. Now she was only four years older than himself, having died at Perth in the year 1743, in the eightieth year of her age. She had been either so frightened by him, or so cajoled, as to offer, if we may believe the duke of Argyle, writing to the Rev. Mr Carstairs, to give her oath before the court of judicary that all that had passed between her and Lovat was voluntary, and as much her inclination as his; and she lived to hear him deny his being at all concerned with her, and to see him twice afterwards married.

But to return from this short digression. Having, as he supposed, put himself in a fair way for being acknowledged by the house of Athol, the master of Lovat abandoned the idea of hanging so many of the members and allies belonging to it, as he had in custody in his castle of Fanellan, contenting himself with extorting a bond from lord Salton for eight thousand pounds, with four low-country barons as his sureties, if he ever again interfered with the affairs of the estate of Lovat, or if ever he or the marquis of Athol prosecuted any one individual for any thing that had been transacted in this whole affair. This was only a little more of the same folly which had guided him through the whole business, and tended but to excite the wonder of his friends, and the hatred and contempt of his enemies, the latter of whom, on a representation to the privy council, had him intercommuned, and letters of fire and sword issued out against him and all his clan. This, though perfectly in the natural order of human affairs, was altogether unexpected by the master of Lovat, and seems to have reduced him to great extremity. Besides the family of Athol, which was much more powerful than his own, troops were ready to pour in upon him from all quarters, and even those upon whom he depended for counsel and assistance seem at the time to have declared against him. To the laird of Culloden, we find him writing from Beaufort in the month of October, 1697. "Thir Lds. att Inverness, w^t. y^e rest of my implacable enemies, does so confound my wife, that she is uneasy till she see them. I am afraid they are so mad with this disappointment, that they will propose something to her that's dangerous, her brother having such power with her; so that really till things be perfectly accommodate, I do not desire they should see her, and I know not how to manage her. So I hope you will send all the advice you can to your obliged, &c. &c. I hope you will excuse me for not going your length, since I have such a hard task at home." The advice given him by Culloden has

not been preserved; but that it was not to his mind, we learn from a letter written by that gentleman from Inverlochy, about ten or twelve days after. "I am much concerned," says he, "that your neighbour Beaufort hath played not the fool but the madman. If, by your persuasion, he cannot be induced to deliver up the so much abused lady upon assurance of pardon, in all probability he will ruin both himself and his friends. 'Tis not long since he was here, and promised me other things; but since he has run a quite contrary course, and stands neither to his own nor the proposals of any other, I have sent down two hundred men," &c. &c. This view of the matter is still further confirmed by another letter from Lovat to Culloden, a few days after the above, when he seems to have felt that he was pretty much in the power of his enemies. "I pray you receive the inclosed account of my business, and see if your own conscience, in the sight of God, do not convince you that it is literally true. I had sent to you upon Saturday last, but you were not at home; however, I sent it that day to the laird of Calder, who, I hope, will not sit down upon me, but transmit it to my best friends; and I beseech you, sir, for God's sake, that you do the like. I know the chancellor is a just man, notwithstanding his friendship for Tullibardine. I forgive you for betraying of me; but neither you, nor I, nor I hope God himself, will not forgive them that deceived you, and caused you do it. I am very hopeful in my dear wife's constancy, if they do not put her to death. Now, I add no more, but leaves myself to your discretion," &c. At the same time his father, lord Lovat, wrote to the duke of Argyle an explanatory letter upon the subject, signed by himself and all the principal Frasers. The great benefit of the marriage to the estate of Lovat is chiefly insisted on in this letter, and represented as the sole cause of the enmity of the Athol family; who, it states, wished to appropriate that fair domain to themselves. Argyle, on the receipt of this letter, wrote to Mr Carstairs, who was king William's principal adviser in all that related to Scotland, and, after a considerable length of time, was gratified by receiving the pardon he had solicited for all the treasons with which his client had been charged, leaving the story of the rape for a subject of future investigation. For this also, had there been a little patience and prudence exercised, there cannot be a doubt but he would have obtained a full remission.

To be out of the way of this storm at its commencement, lord Lovat had taken shelter in the island of Skye, with his brother-in-law the laird of Macleod, where he died in the beginning of 1698. Simon, who had defended himself in the best manner he could, then assumed the title of lord Lovat, but to escape the rage and superior strength of his enemies, was also under the necessity of taking refuge in the isles, where he remained till the following year, when the duke of Argyle, with the promise of a pardon, brought him to London. Delays took place, however, in procuring his remission to pass the Scottish seals, till the king set out for the United provinces, and Lovat took an excursion into France, for the purpose of lodging, at the court of St Germain, a complaint against the marquis of Athol, and soliciting James's protection against the malignity of his powerful family. Having obtained his request, and been enjoined by the exiled monarch to wait on and make his peace with king William, Lovat proceeded by the way of London to the court of that sovereign, at Loo, being favoured with a letter from the duke of Argyle to Mr Carstairs, through whom he received a remission, he himself says, of all crimes that could be imputed to him, but restricted by Seafield in passing the Scottish seals, as has been above stated. With this remission, such as it was, he ventured to make his appearance in public, had a citation served upon the marquis of Athol and his family for falsely accusing him, and for devastating his estates; and, making a

progress through the north, returned to Edinburgh with a hundred gentlemen as honourable as himself, to support his charges, and bear witness to the innocence and integrity of his character ; or rather to browbeat the authorities, and extort from fear a decision which he well knew could never be procured from the voice of truth and justice. Finding, however, that he had undertaken what would fail him in the issue, he once more set out for London, the day before the trial should have come on, and was nonsuited in his absence ; and thus, by his imprudent temerity, lost the opportunity of being fairly instated in the estate and honours of Lovat, as he would certainly have been, through the interest of Argyle and his other friends, had he allowed them to do their own work in their own way.

The restoration of king James was now Lovat's sheet anchor ; and, lest the Murrays, whom he suspected of being warmer friends to James than he was himself, should also be before him here, it was necessary for him to be peculiarly forward. Accordingly, on the death of king William in the early part of the year 1702, he procured a commission from several of the principal Scottish Jacobites to the court of St Germain's, declaring their being ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for the restoration of their lawful prince ; as usual, paying all manner of respect to the court of Versailles, and requesting its assistance. With this, he proceeded by the way of England and Holland, and reached the court of St Germain's about the beginning of September, 1702 ; just in time to be particularly useful in inflaming the contentions that distracted the councils of James VIII., for the direction of whose affairs there was a most violent struggle among his few followers. He had for his fellow-traveller his cousin-german, Sir John Maclean, well known in the history of the intrigues of that time, who, leaving him at Paris, was his precursor to the court of St Germain's, whence in two days he returned to conduct him into the presence of the duke of Perth, from whom he received private instructions how to conduct himself towards the queen. The principal of these was to request of the queen that she should not make known any part of what he proposed to lord Middleton, who, at the time, was the rival of lord Perth for the supreme direction of their affairs, which might be said to lie chiefly in sending out spies, fabricating reports, and soliciting pensions. Nothing could be more agreeable to Lovat, the very elements of whose being seemed to be mystery, and with whom to intrigue was as natural as to breathe. To work he went, exacted the queen's promise to keep every thing secret from Middleton ; and by the aid of the marquis de Torcy, the marquis Callieres, and cardinal Gualterio, the pope's nuncio, fancied himself sole administrator of the affairs of Scotland. The queen herself was so much pleased with the opening scene, that she gladdened the heart of Lovat, by telling him she had sent her jewels to Paris to be sold, in order to raise the twenty thousand crowns he had told her were necessary for bringing forward his Highlanders in a properly effective manner. But she was not long true to her promise of secrecy ; and Middleton at once depicted Lovat as " the greatest traitor in the three kingdoms : " nor did he treat his favourite Highlanders with any more respect, representing them as mere banditti, excellent at plundering the Lowlanders, and carrying off their cattle, but incapable of being formed into a regular corps that would look a well appointed enemy in the face. From this day forward, Lovat seems to have fallen in the opinion of Mary d'Este, who was a woman of rather superior talents, though he seems to have gone on well with de Torcy, Callieres, and Gualterio, who found in him, as they supposed, a very fit tool for their purpose of raising in Scotland a civil war, without much caring whether it really promoted the interests of James or not. After much intriguing with Perth and

Middleton, as well as with the French ministry, Lovat obtained a commission to visit Scotland in 1703, but rather as an emissary of the French government, than an accredited agent for James. The object of the French government was to have an immediate diversion created in the Highlands, and they furnished his lordship with six thousand francs (£250) to defray the expenses of his journey, and a commission to be a major-general, with power to raise troops and appoint officers, as he should find needful. At the same time, to be the witness of his behaviour, they joined with him John Murray of Abercairney, a gentleman who ought to have been ashamed of such a companion as Lovat, and had the address to send James Murray, brother to Murray of Stanhope, so as to be in Scotland at least a month before him, where he told it openly, that Lovat was on his way, as agent for the pope and the king of France, to raise a civil war in Scotland, contrary to the positive orders of the king and his mother the queen. Owing to this and the well known character of Lovat, many of the Jacobites were shy of communicating with him, though he certainly found a few willing to depend upon his promises, and to enter into his projects. His principal object, however, most probably was to see if there were yet any openings whereby he might reconcile himself with the government, and be allowed to take possession of the estate of Lovat, the first and the last grand object of his ambition. He accordingly threw himself in the way of Queensberry, to whom he betrayed all—perhaps more than he knew, respecting his old friend, lord Murray, now, by the death of his brother and the queen's favour, duke of Athol, and his associate in politics, the duke of Hamilton; but his best friend the duke of Argyre dying at this time, he appears to have obtained nothing more than a free passport, and perhaps some promises in case of further discoveries; and with this he passed again into France. Having, while in London fallen in with, or rather been introduced to, a well known Jacobite, William Keith, and the well known framer of plots, Ferguson, who was shortly after taken up, the whole of his transaction took air before he had time to reach Paris. The companion of his travels, too, Sir John Maclean, coming to England about the same time, surrendered himself prisoner, and, in consideration of obtaining his liberty and a small pension, laid open the whole of Lovat's proceedings from first to last, so that he was discovered to both courts at the same time. The reader, however, if he supposes that Lovat felt any pain at these discoveries, is in a great mistake. They were unquestionably the very events he wished, and from which he expected to rise in worldly estimation and in wealth, which is too often the chief pillar upon which that estimation is founded. There was at this period, among all parties, a thirst for emolument which was perfectly ravenous, and scrupled at no means by which it might attain its gratification. Of this fatal propensity, the present affair is a remarkable instance. Lovat had received from king James the present of his picture, which, with a commission for a regiment of infantry, he had inclosed in a box made for the purpose. This, on leaving Scotland, he committed to his friend, Campbell of Glendaruel, to keep for him, and his back was scarcely turned when Glendaruel went to the duke of Athol, and offered him the box, with its contents, provided he would give him a company in a regiment that was held by Campbell of Finab, and was worth about one hundred and seventy pounds a year, which he at once obtained, and the box with its contents was in a short time lodged in the hands of queen Anne. Lovat, in his memoirs, relates the transaction, and exclaims against its treachery, though it was wholly his own contrivance; the box being given for the express purpose of procuring a pension for his friend, and giving Anne and her ministers ocular demonstration of his own importance.

On his arrival in France, lord Lovat found the earl of Middleton and the exiled queen, as much opposed to him and his projects as ever, but he continued his assiduities with the French courtiers, who informed him, that he might expect very soon "to be the first of the Scottish nobility, since he would be called on to head the insurrection not only as a general officer to king James, but as a general officer in the army of France; every thing necessary for the success of the expedition, land forces, a squadron of ships, arms, and ammunition, being already prepared, and nothing remaining to be done but the form of carrying it through the privy council, which a day or two would accomplish. In a day or two it was proposed in the council, when the king himself declared, that, though he had the highest opinion of the excellence of the proposed plan, the queen of England had positively refused to sign commissions for her subjects to engage in it, and therefore, for the present it was necessary to lay it aside. This was a sad blow to the hopes of Lovat; and being always fond of letter-writing, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her, that she had at one blow overturned a project which he had sacrificed his property and exposed his life to bring to perfection; and he affirmed, that, so long as her majesty followed implicitly the advice of the people who were at the head of the English parliament, Jesus Christ would come in the clouds before her son would be restored; and he concluded by saying, that, for his own part, he would never draw a sword for the royal cause, so long as the regency was in her majesty's hands.

In consequence of this letter, lord Lovat was at the queen's instance imprisoned thirty-two days in a dark dungeon, three years in the castle of Angoulême, and seven years in the city of Saumur. In the meantime the project was not abandoned. Colonel Hooke succeeded to the part that Lovat had played or attempted to play. A large armament under admiral Forbin was fitted out in the year 1708, in which James himself embarked, and had a sight of the Scottish shore, when meeting first with admiral Byng and afterwards with a violent storm, the whole was driven back upon the French coast with great loss. In this expedition the friends of Lovat had requested James to employ him, and they had met with the most determined refusal, which finally, with the failure of the expedition, cut off all his hopes from that quarter. What added greatly to the bitterness of his reflections, the heiress of Lovat was now married to Mr Alexander Mackenzie, (son of lord Prestonhall,) who had assumed the title of Fraserdale, with the estate of Lovat settled on him for life, with remainder to the heirs of the marriage, who were to bear the name of Fraser, and of which there were already more than one. Thus circumstanced, he confessed, that he "would not merely have enlisted himself in the party of the house of Hanover, which was called to the crown of Scotland, England, and Ireland, by all the states of the kingdom, but with any foreign prince in the universe, who would have assisted him in the attainment of his just and laudable design of re-establishing his family, and proclaiming to all Scotland the barbarous cruelty of the court of St Germain's." In this state of mind he formed the resolution of escaping from Saumur, in company with some English prisoners, and throwing himself at the feet of the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, entreating them to interpose in his favour with queen Anne. This design circumstances prevented him from executing; but he transmitted on various occasions, letters to the duke of Argyle and others of his friends, upon whom he supposed he could depend, stating the determination he had come to, and requesting their good offices to effect his reconciliation with the queen. Some of these letters were returned to the court of St Germain's, shown to the court of France, and nearly occasioned his being shut up in the Bastille for life. He

was very soon, however, engaged in forming another plan for the invasion of Scotland, in which he expected to be employed; but the terrible campaigns of 1710 and 1711, put it out of the power of the court of France to attend to any thing beyond domestic concerns; and the marquis de la Fuziliere, the principal friend he possessed at the French court, dying at the same time, rendered all his prospects in that country hopeless. The conclusion of peace, and the appointment of the duke of Hamilton to represent queen Anne at the court of Versailles, filled him with still more gloomy apprehensions, from which he was not delivered till he read in the public papers the fatal duel that had been fought between that nobleman and lord Mohun, when he again took courage, and applied once more to the French court to be set at liberty. The person he employed, however, had no success; his character seemed to be losing rather than gaining at that court, and he was advised to make his escape. Others, certain that the king would be immediately restored by Anne and her ministers, and was even now on the point of setting out for Scotland to be at hand when wanted, assured him that to depart for Scotland without his permission was only to rush upon inevitable destruction. This seems to have filled him with great apprehension, and he laboured to be reconciled to the Pretender with the greatest but the most fruitless industry, till he was driven to utter despair by the death of queen Anne, and tidings that all the Jacobite clans in the north were arming in behalf of James, who had again and again declared, that, without the consent of the duke of Athol, he would never hear of his name. In this dilemma, one of the Frasers arrived to request his presence with the clan, and advising him to join the party of Argyle, who was their old friend, and the only one that was likely to be able to afford them protection. He had previously to this written to Argyle, but does not seem to have had any reply. He now despatched a trusty servant to consult with him and Ilay, Culloden, Grant, Kilravock, and other of his old friends, who stated, that if he could make his way safe to London, the business was done. This at once determined him to set out for England, taking the best precautions he could to avoid being arrested. On the 1st of November, 1714, after an imprisonment of ten years, he arrived at Dover, where, on account of extreme fatigue, he rested for one night. He then, by a journey of two days, arrived safely in London.

Here his first care was to despatch his trusty friends, James and Alexander Fraser for the earl of Ilay and brigadier general Grant. The brigadier lost not a moment in waiting on him, expressed great joy to see him safe and well, and assured him of every good office in his power. Ilay, on the contrary, expressed considerable regret at his having quitted the provision which, amid all the severe treatment he met with, had been made for him in France, while in England he had not even the security of his life, but he engaged to bring his case before the king and the prince that very night, and to let him know the result next day. The circumstances in which Lovat had thus placed himself were by no means pleasant. In Scotland there was a sentence of death in full force against him, and a price set upon his head, while he had nothing to rely upon but a precarious promise from a few friends, who, after all, might neither have the will nor the power to protect him. He was, however, too deeply embarked to draw back, and he determined, regardless of consequences, to throw himself upon the protection of the duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay, to take no step in his affairs but by their direction, and to live and die in their service. How happy had it been for his lordship had he never lost sight of this prudent determination. Next day Ilay informed him that he had spoken of his case both to the king and the prince, who were well disposed towards him; but,

without some security for his future loyalty, were not willing to grant him a free pardon. It would therefore be necessary for him to present an address to the king, signed by all his friends who were well affected towards the present government, and that, in this address, they should enter into an engagement for his loyalty in any sum the king pleased. Such an address as would be proper, Ilay promised to draw up, which he accordingly did two days after; and Lovat, by his trusty friend, James Fraser, immediately despatched it to the north, with the following letter to his old friend, John Forbes of Culloden, who was at the time canvassing for the county of Inverness:

"Much honoured and dear sir,—The real friendship that I know you have for my person and family makes me take the freedom to assure you of my kind service, and to entreat of you to join with my other friends betwixt Spey and Ness to sign the address the court requires in order to give me my remission. Your cousin James, who has generously exposed himself to bring me out of chains, will inform you of all the steps and circumstances of my affairs since he saw me. I wish, dear sir, you were here; I am confident you would speak to the duke of Argyle and to the earl of Ilay, to let them know their own interest and their reiterated promises to do for me. Perhaps they may have sooner than they expect a most serious occasion for my service. But it's needless now to preach that doctrine to them, they think themselves in an infallible security. I wish they may not be mistaken. However, I think it's the interest of all those who love this government betwixt Spey and Ness to see me at the head of my clan, ready to join them, so that I believe none of them will refuse to sign an address to make me a Scotchman. I am persuaded, dear sir, that you will be of good example to them on that head. But secrecy, above all, must be kept, without which all may go wrong. I hope you will be stirring for the parliament, for I will not be reconciled to you if you let Prestonhall outvote you. Brigadier Grant, to whom I am infinitely obliged, has written to Foyers to give you his vote, and he is an ingrate villain if he refuses him. If I was at home, the little pitiful barons of the Aird durst not refuse you. But I am hopeful that the news of my going to Britain will hinder Prestonhall to go north, for I may meet him when he least thinks of me. I am very impatient to see you, and to assure you most sincerely how much I am, with love and respect, right honourable," &c.

The above is a fair specimen of Lovat's manner and address in complimenting those whom he had an interest in standing well with. He had indeed use for all his activity on this occasion. The secrecy which he recommends was also very necessary, for Fraserdale no sooner heard of his intention of coming down to Scotland, which was only a few days after this, than he applied to the lord justice clerk for an extract of the process and sentence against him, no doubt with the intention of putting it in execution, before his friends should be able to interpose any shield of legal authority in his defence. All his friends, however, especially Culloden, were particularly active. The address and bond of security to the king was speedily signed by all the whig gentlemen of consequence in the north, and remitted to lord Ilay, who carried it to London in the month of March, 1715. Culloden, in the meantime, had, through his brother Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord president, transmitted to be presented by lord Ilay, a most loyal address to the king, signed by the Frasers, with a tender of their clan to Argyle as their chief. This was intended to counterbalance the address of the Jacobites that had been transmitted to the earl of Marr, but which he durst not present, and to strengthen the interest of Argyle, which the other was calculated to weaken. Through the opposition of the duke of Montrose, however, who had been gained over by Prestonhall and the

duke of Athol, Lovat's business was protracted till the month of July, 1715; when the news of the preparations of the Pretender for an invasion of Great Britain, transmitted by the earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, and the general ferment that prevailed through the country, had aroused the fears of the government. Hay availed himself of these circumstances for turning the attention of the English minister more particularly to that too long delayed affair. The addresses which had been obtained in his favour were then given in to his majesty, whose gracious pardon he obtained, and in October, making the best of his way for the north, he was arrested by a loyal party at Dumfries as a Jacobite. Referring for his character to the marquis of Annandale, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and to whom he was known, he was immediately set at liberty. Here he volunteered his services to lead a party of the townsmen in attacking the rebels in their quarters at Lochmaben, but the attack after it had been resolved on was abandoned through the prudent advice of the marquis of Annandale, who was afraid of the consequences both to themselves and the good cause in which they were engaged.

Leaving Dumfries, his lordship found his way into the north, where the insurgents were nearly triumphant, being in possession of the whole country save the shires of Sutherland, Ross, and Caithness, with perhaps a detached castle or two in some of the neighbouring counties. Among these was the castle of Culloden. The Grants and the Munroes had also been able in some measure to preserve their own territories; but the rebels were every where around them in great force. The first of Lovat's proceedings was to hold a counsel with his general, as he long after called him, Duncan Forbes, and his brother the laird of Culloden, who was, perhaps, the most trust-worthy man in the north; after which he went home, where he was waited upon by a considerable number of Frasers, with whom he marched for Stratherrick, one of his estates, and by the way compelled the clan Chattan to lay down their arms and disperse to their homes. Macdonald of Keppoch, too, who had three hundred men assembled on the braes of Abertarf, dismissed them the moment he was apprized of Lovat's approach. At Stratherrick he was waited upon by Fraser of Foyers, and Fraser of Culduthill, with their retainers; and to prevent the Macdonalds from reaching the other side of Lochness, he himself crossed over at Bonat, and with two hundred picked men marched according to agreement for Inverness, by Kinmayles. Colonel Grant, with a number of his own, Elcheiz's and Knockandow's men, captain Grant with three hundred Grants, and all the other gentlemen engaged in the enterprise, were at the same time approaching the northern capital in order to rescue it from the hands of the rebels. For this end, it was proposed that the gentlemen of Moray, in conjunction with lord Lovat and the Grants, should set upon it from the south, while the earl of Sutherland, lord Rae, the Munroes, and the Rosses, should attack it on the north. These latter gentlemen, however, having some of them upwards of fifty miles to march, besides ferries to cross, it was not thought advisable to wait for them. Captain Arthur Rose, brother to Kilravock, was therefore ordered to enter the town, while those that were already come up proceeded to invest it in the best manner they could. Lord Lovat, with his detachment was stationed on the west end of the bridge, captain Grant on the south side, to enter by Castle Street, and the Moray lieutenants, Kilravock, Letham, Brodie, Sir Archibald Campbell, Dunphail, &c. were to attack the east part. The attack was led on with great spirit by captain Arthur Rose, who was unfortunately killed pressing on in the front of his men; and Sir John Mackenzie, the rebel governor, seeing himself about to be overpowered, abandoned the place, escaping with his men across the Frith in a number of

boats, which but a few days before he had intended to destroy, in order to cut off all communication by the ferry. This was upon Saturday the 12th of November, the day before the battle of Sheriffmuir and the surrender of Preston. Thus the rebels were completely broken in the north, and it was a triumph obtained with very little loss. Much of the credit of the achievement was given to Lovat, much more indeed than was his due; but he was in want of something to elevate his character, and his friends were willing to give him all advantages. The immediate consequence of the honour he acquired on this day was the desertion of three hundred Frasers, who, under Fraserdale, were in Marr's camp at Perth; but now denying his authority to lead them, put themselves under the charge of lord Lovat at Inverness, where they remained till the rebellion was finally put down by the earl of Argyle and general Cadogan. But there was another consequence not very remote and of far greater importance: it secured him at once in the estate and all the honours of Lovat, which it had been the great object of his whole life to compass, but which, without some such strange event, joined to the false step of his rival in joining the rebel standard, was most certainly for ever beyond his reach. Prestonhall had married the heiress of Lovat, in whose person, by a decree of the court of session, so far back as the year 1702, rested the honours and dignity of Lovat. He had assumed in consequence the name of Fraser and the title of Fraserdale, and had a numerous offspring to inherit as heirs of marriage the estate which he had so long possessed, and had he maintained his loyalty, nothing but a revolution, with singular folly on his own part, could have dispossessed him of the property. Most fortunately for Lovat, when he arrived in the north, Fraserdale was with the earl of Marr at Perth, and there was nothing to prevent him from executing his purpose, of taking immediate possession of his estates, which he did before proceeding to act vigorously in behalf of the government, every member of which knew that such was the reward he expected. The fortunate issue of this his first action too called forth all the natural arrogance and presumption of his character. We find him in the ensuing March, only four short months after, writing to Duncan Forbes in the following style. "My dear general, I send you the enclosed letter from the name of Macleod, which I hope you will make good use of, for it's most certain I kept the Macleods at home, which was considerable service done the government." How had he kept the Macleods at home, when the rebellion was at its height before it was so much as known if ever he would be allowed to enter it? But he goes on to speak of his own achievements still more boastingly, and of the recalling of Argyle, which he says, has made him sick. "I hope my dear general you will take a start to London to serve his grace and do something for your poor old corporal, (meaning himself;) and if you suffer Glengarry, Fraserdale, or the Chisholm to be pardoned, I will never carry a musket any more under your command, though I should be obliged to go to Afric. However, you know how obedient I am to my general's orders; you forgot to give the order signed by you and the other deutes to meddle with Fraserdale's estate for the king's service. I entreat you send it me, for — is afraid to meddle without authority." How his lordship wished Fraserdale to find no mercy is obvious from what is above stated; but why should Glengarry and the Chisholm find none for the very same reason? Their estate lay contiguous to those of Fraserdale; and if they could be all escheated to the king, why might not Lovat for his own extraordinary services have got all the three as well as one? Fraserdale was escheated and Lovat had only to wait till the month of August, when a grant passed his majesty's privy seal of Scotland "for the many brave and loyal services done and performed to his majesty by Simon lord Lovat, parti-

cularly for the zeal and activity he showed in suppressing the late unnatural rebellion in the north of Scotland, and for his known affection to his majesty's person and government, giving, granting, and disposing the escheat of all goods, gear, debts and sums of money, jewels, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, utensils and domeccills, horse, nolt, sheep, corns, cattle, bonds, obligations, contracts, decreets, sentences, compromitts, and all other goods and gear escheatable, which belonged to Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, together with the said Alexander Mackenzie his life-rent escheat of all lands, heritages, tenements, annual rents, tacks, steadings, rooms, possessions, as also five hundred pounds of sterling money, fallen in the king's hands by the said sentence, &c.

This was certainly an abundant reward, though Lovat had been a much better man, and his services more ample than they really were. It was nothing more, however, than he expected, and it excited no gratitude, nor did it yield any thing like content. Fraserdale's plate he had attempted to secure, but it fell into the hands of general Wightman; who, it was at the time remarked, had a happy knack of keeping what he got. However, he engaged to return it, Lovat paying him the one half in money, the whole being only valued at £150, sterling. In the month of April, he was, on his own request allowed to come to London, to look after all those great affairs that were then going on; and his mode of writing about them gives a curious view of a worldly man's morality:—"I want," he says to his friend Duncan Forbes, "but a gift of the escheat to make me easy. But if it does not do, you must find some pretence or other that will give me a title to keep possession, either by the tailie my lord provost has, or by buying off some creditors; in short, you must make a man of it one way or other." He was also at this time on the eve of his marriage with Margaret Grant, daughter of Ludovick Grant, of Grant; and his moral feeling on this subject is equally interesting as that which regarded the estate of Lovat:—"I spake to the duke, and my lord Ilay, about my marriage, and told them, that one of my greatest motives to the design, was to secure the joint interest of the north. They are both fully for it, and Argyle is to speak of it, and propose it to the king. But Ilay desired me to write to you, to know if there would be any fear of a pursuit of adherence from the other person, (the dowager of Lovat) which is a chimerical business, and tender fear for me in my dear Ilay. But when I told him that the lady denied before the justice court, that I had any thing to do with her, and that the pretended marriage had been declared null, which Ilay says should be done by the commissaries only; yet when I told him, that the minister and witnesses were all dead, who had been at the pretended marriage, he was satisfied they could make nothing of it, though they would endeavour it. However, I entreat you, write to me or Mr Stewart a line on this head, to satisfy my lord Ilay's scruple."—This puts an end to all doubt respecting the rape charged upon his lordship, of which he had often before, and did often again declare, that he was as innocent as the child unborn. All was now, however, forgiven; the duke of Argyle wrote in his favour to the Grants, recommending the match, and in the course of the next year he obtained the young lady for his bride.

Lovat might now have been, if worldly success could make any man so, a very happy man. He had been, for many years, an exile and a prisoner, proscribed at home and abroad, and alike odious to both parties in the state, and both claimants of the crown. He had ventured home at the hazard of his life, had obtained the grace of the reigning prince, the countenance of all his friends, possession of the inheritance of his fathers, two honourable commissions among his countrymen, a young and beautiful wife, and a handsome pension; yet he was the same as before, querulous and discontented.

In the beginning of the year 1717, we find him resuming the subject of the grant, and he requests Duncan Forbes to employ Sir Walter Pringle, and any one else he pleases, and consult together of some legal way for his keeping possession of his estate; "for," says he, "I must either keep violent possession, which will return me my old misfortunes, or I must abandon the kingdom and a young lady whom my friends have engaged me to marry. So, my dear general, I beg you may give me some prospect of not being again forced to leave the kingdom, or to fight against the king's forces. The one or the other must be, if I do not find any legal pretence of possessing the estate but by this gift." And all this was because a Mr Murray or a lord Murray had made a motion in the house of commons, for a redeeming clause to be added in favour of Fraserdale's lady, which occasioned a few hours' debate, and was improved for making remarks on lord Lovat's character and conduct, but at last came to nothing. Perhaps he was also a little disturbed by the movements of the Spanish court in favour of James, which were still more contemptible than any party motion that ever was made in the house of commons.

For a number of years after this, Lovat was fully occupied with the legal campaigns which he carried on under the direction of Duncan Forbes, for the final settlement of the Lovat estate, during all which time the affairs of the pretender gave him no trouble; nay, they seem to have been totally forgotten. After the lapse of a number of years, however, when he had got every thing secured in his own way, we then find him again treating with the pretender for a generalship and a dukedom, and all his old uneasinesses returning upon him. Having no more to expect from his "dear general" the lord president, he ceased to correspond with him; and on the breaking up of the black watch, one of the companies of which had belonged to him, he withdrew his affections entirely from the existing government, and became ready once more to act for the exiled family of Stuart.

The nation was now involved in war; and the friends of the pretender, stirred up by the emissaries of the court of France, which protected him for no other purpose but to make him a tool on such occasions—began to bestir themselves. Lovat, whose political views were very limited, never doubted but that France had at all times the power to restore the pretender, if she had but the will, and now that her promises were so magnificent, he fell at once into the snare, and was the first to sign, in the year 1740, that association which brought entire ruin upon the cause, and nearly all that had connected themselves with it. Still he acted upon the old principle: he stipulated that he was to have a patent creating him a duke, and a commission constituting him lieutenant of all the Highlands, and of course elevating him above even the great Argyle.

Though Lovat had now committed himself, and was fairly in the way of "having all his old troubles returned upon him," common sense, as in most cases, did not forsake him all once. He was employed in making preparations for the new scenes of grandeur that to his heated fancy lay before him, but he did not run the hazard of disappointment by any ridiculous parade, or any weak attempts prematurely to realize them. When prince Charles landed at Boradale, accompanied, not, as had been agreed upon with the association, at the head of which Lovat had unfortunately placed his name, by thirteen thousand men with all necessary equipments, but with seven persons and a few domestics; his friends were perfectly astonished, and none of them more so than Lovat. Accordingly, when he received Lochiel's letter stating that Charles was come, and that he had brought the papers stipulated upon, viz the patent for the dukedom, and the general's commission, Lovat returned a cold and general answer, that he might rely upon what he had promised. Lochiel, however, being

led to take part in the enterprise, drew in some of his neighbours, and when the gathering had begun, who could tell where it would end? It might be at last successful, and all who had been backward at the outset might expect no mercy in the end. Still Lovat was cautious. He only sent one of his distant relations, "mad Tom of Gortuleg," to meet Charles at Invergarry, and to advise him to come by Stratherrick to Inverness, and by the time he reached the latter place, Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod would have time to come up; besides, he might expect to be there joined by the Grants, the Mackenzies, and the Mackintoshes. These were all engaged to come forward, as well as Lovat, who was now, from a number of circumstances, doubtful of their constancy, and, while he preserved the character of a leader, wished to see them all committed before he began to play his part. All his *finesse*, however, was of no avail. Charles took other advice. Sir Alexander Macdonald, and his powerful neighbour, Macleod, stood entirely aloof; and to crown all, his "dear general," the lord president, to whom he owed all that he possessed in the world, and to whose acute powers of perception he was no stranger, became his next door neighbour, with the almost avowed purpose of watching his every action. All these circumstances reduced him to the necessity of acting with the utmost caution, and at the same time subjected him to the most tormenting anxiety. His preparations for joining the pretender he dared not entirely suspend, lest some inferior neighbour might rise to that pre-eminent place in the prince's favour, that, in case he were successful, it was the dearest wish of his soul to occupy, and he knew not how to proceed, lest he might stand fairly committed, and be compelled to abide by the consequences. He did, however, what he could: he compelled his son to leave his studies with a view to make him the leader of his clan, and he employed, in an underhand way, his dependents to bring all matters connected with the expedition into a state of forwardness, while he himself wrote letters to the lord president, filled with lamentations for his unhappy country, and his more unhappy situation, as having to do with such mad people, and such an untoward and ungrateful son. After the brilliant affair at Gladsmuir, however, when he saw "that as sure as God was in the heavens, the mad young man would prevail," he took a little more courage, and sent to congratulate him on the victory, and to say, that being an old man, he could not come himself with five thousand men, as he had originally intended, but that he would send his son, which he hoped would be regarded the same as if he had come himself. As the course of events seemed to favour or frown upon the attempt, his lordship's conduct continued to be more open, or more concealed, till lord Loudon found it to be his duty to take him into custody. Still, as he appeared undecided, and but few of his men had gone south, and it was hoped he might still countermand them, his confinement was only nominal. In an evil hour he made his escape from lord Loudon, and, when it was utterly useless, threw the whole weight of his influence into the rebellion. The master of Lovat had a share in the affair of Falkirk, but was only coming up with his reinforcements to join the army of Charles, when he met it, totally routed, a few miles from the fatal field of Culloden. On the evening of that fatal day, Lovat was petrified with the first and the last sight he ever had of Charles. This was at Gortuleg, where the unfortunate prince arrived about sunset, a miserable fugitive, accompanied by his Irish counsellors, Sheridan, Sullivan, O'Neil, and his secretary John Hay. Lovat, on being told of his approach in this forlorn condition, poured forth against him the bitterest execrations, as having brought utter ruin on the house of Lovat, and on the entry of his unexpected visitant, he is said to have run about the house in a state of distraction, calling upon his domestics to chop off his aged head. Charles,

however, who possessed the art of flattery in great perfection, soothed him by the promise of another and better day with the elector, observing at the same time, that he had already had two, while the elector had but one. That one, however, unluckily for him and Lovat, was better than all the days either of them had seen, or were ever again to see. But the joke satisfied the old man ; supper was hastily prepared, as hastily eaten, and at ten o'clock Charles changed his dress, and bade his entertainer an everlasting farewell.

Lovat had now abundance of leisure to reflect upon his folly in rejecting the sound advice of his friend the lord president ; but as he could have little hope of being again pardoned, he studied to prolong his liberty and life in the best manner he could, first by proposing a mountain campaign, which, was found impracticable, and then by betaking himself to the fastnesses of his country, with which he was well acquainted. From one of these retreats he had the misery of seeing his house of Castledownie laid in ashes, and his estates every where plundered, the cattle driven off, the sheilings set on fire, and the miserable inmates driven to the mountains. He had also the misfortune to see it given over by commission from the duke of Cumberland to James Fraser of Castle Cullen for the behoof of the government, which, considering what it had cost him, and the value he set upon it, must have been worse than many deaths. As he had been so long a conspicuous character, and one of the most active movers of this rebellion, the search after him was continued with the utmost patience and perseverance, and he was at last found upon an island in Loch Morar, where he was living comfortably with Macdonald of Morar, the proprietor of the island, without any suspicion of being found out, having carried all the boats upon the loch into the island, and being at a considerable distance from the sea. Information, however, having been obtained, captain Ferguson, of his majesty's ship *Furnace*, sailed round till directly opposite the island, when the men of war boats were carried over land and launched into the loch. Most of those that were upon the island fled by their boats and escaped ; but Lovat being totally lame, was unable to escape in this manner. He was, however, carried upon his bed into the woods, and was not found till after a search of three days. Being in no condition to make any resistance, he surrendered himself at once, delivered up his arms and his strong box, was carried aboard captain Ferguson's ship, and brought round to Fort William, where he wrote a letter to the duke of Cumberland, boasting of the extraordinary services he had performed for his family, of the great kindnesses he had then met with, and of the vast benefits he was still capable of bestowing, should he be made a participant of the royal mercy. Of this letter the duke took no notice, but he treated him with much kindness. A litter having been provided for him, he was brought to Fort Augustus on the 15th of June, 1746. On the fifteenth of July he was sent to Stirling castle, where he remained some days. From Stirling he was sent to Edinburgh, and thence by Berwick to London, the journey being divided into twenty stages, one only of which he was required to travel in a day. In this easy way he reached Barnet on the 14th of August, and on the 15th, the Friday before the execution of the lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, he arrived in London. On his way to the Tower, he passed the scaffold that had been erected for the execution of those noblemen, which he looked at with some emotion, exclaiming " Ah ! is it come to this ! " When brought to the Tower, he was received by general Williamson and conducted to the apartment prepared for him, where, as his trial did not come on till the beginning of next year, he had abundance of leisure to contemplate the ruin he had brought upon himself and his house by indulging a most insatiable avarice and a ridiculous ambition. He, however, took possession of his dreary habitation

with a degree of fortitude and an equanimity of mind worthy of a better man and a better cause.

On the 11th of December he was impeached of high treason by the house of commons, a committee of which was appointed to draw up the articles and prepare evidence. On the 11th, he was brought to the bar of the house of lords and the articles read to him. On this occasion his lordship made a long speech, in which he expressed the highest esteem for his majesty and all the royal family, enumerating at great length the many services he had performed for them during the rebellion in 1715, and singular favours bestowed upon him in return by the late king and his ministers. He then enlarged with great eloquence upon his age and infirmities, particularly his deafness, in consequence of which he said he had not heard one word of the charges preferred against him. They were of course read over to him again, when he presented a petition, praying that he might have a copy of them, and counsel and solicitors might be assigned him. He also acquainted their lordships that his estate had been taken forcible possession of, in consequence of which he had nothing either to support him or to bear the expenses of his trial. Their lordships gave orders that he should be allowed the income of the estate for his subsistence. He also petitioned for his strong box; but this was refused. On this day his lordship displayed great ability and excited considerable sympathy. On the 13th of January, 1747, his lordship was again placed at the bar and gave in an answer to the articles of impeachment, every one of which he denied. After making a very long speech, his trial was fixed for February the 23d. He was this day carried back to the Tower amid the hissings and execrations of a vast mob that attended him. In consequence of a petition from his lordship, his trial was put off till the 5th, and on a second petition till the 9th of March, on which day [Monday] it commenced, and was continued till Thursday the 19th, when it was concluded, his lordship having been found guilty by an unanimous vote of his peers, by the lord chancellor pronouncing upon him the awful sentence of the law.

To give any particular account of this trial would be to give a history of the rebellion. Suffice it to say that on Wednesday, the sixth day occupied by his trial, his lordship read his defences, which were drawn up with all that sarcastic shrewdness for which he was remarkable, and displayed his talents to very great advantage. After being sentenced, the old man made a short speech, begging their lordships to recommend him to his majesty's mercy. Turning to the commons at the same time, he said, that he hoped the worthy managers, as they were stout, would be merciful. Going from the bar, he added, "My lords and gentlemen, God Almighty bless you all. I wish you an everlasting farewell, for we shall never all meet again in one place."

Though he was sentenced on the 19th of March, there were no orders issued respecting his execution till the 3d of April, when it was fixed for the 9th of that month. He had been in the meantime to all appearance perfectly at his ease, and indifferent alike to life or death. Being importuned to petition his majesty for a pardon, he replied he was so old and infirm that his life was not worth asking. He presented, however, a petition for the life of his son, who was a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and who had been drawn into the rebellion solely by his counsels. The notification of his death he received with perfect composure, drank a glass of wine to the health of the messenger who brought it, and entertained him for a considerable time with a most cheerful conversation, assuring him that he would not change situations with any prince in Europe. Next day he talked freely of his own affairs, and took praise to himself for having been concerned in all the schemes that had been

formed in behalf of the Stuarts since he was fifteen years of age, and boasted that he never betrayed a private man nor a public cause in his life. He added, perhaps with more truth, that he never shed a drop of blood with his own hand, nor ever struck a man except one young nobleman [meaning, we suppose, lord Fortrose in a public meeting at Inverness] whom he caned for his impertinence and impiety. On the sabbath he talked of his family and showed to his attendants a letter he had written to his son in a style affectionate and pious, breathing the resignation of a martyr. Being asked this day some question about his religion, he answered that he was a Roman catholic, and would die in that faith. Wednesday, the day before his execution, he awoke early and prayed for a considerable time with great fervency, but was very merry during the day, talking generally of public affairs, particularly of the bill that was in its progress through parliament for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, which he highly reprobated. Thursday, the day of his execution, he awoke about three in the morning, and prayed with great fervour. At five he rose, called as usual for a glass of wine and water, and being placed in his chair, sat and read till seven, when he called for another such refreshment. The barber shortly after brought him his wig, which he found fault with for not being powdered so deeply as usual, saying that he went to the block with pleasure, and if he had a suit of velvet would put it on for the occasion. He then ordered a purse to put money in for the executioner, which when brought, was not to his taste, "yet he thought no man could dislike it with ten guineas in it." At nine he called for a plate of minced veal, of which he ate heartily, and afterwards in wine and water drank the healths of several of his friends. In the meantime the crowd was collecting on Tower hill, where, about ten o'clock, the fall of a scaffold converted many idle spectators into real mourners, upwards of twenty persons being killed and a vast number maimed. Lovat, it is said, made the remark that "the more mischief the better sport." About eleven the sheriff came to demand the body, and he was conducted to a house near the scaffold, where he delivered to his lordship a paper saying he might give the word of command when he pleased and he would obey. He then said a short prayer, desired that his clothes might be given to his friends along with his body, took a little brandy and bitters, and was conducted to the scaffold, in going up to which he looked round him and exclaimed, "God save us, why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head, that can't get up three steps without two men to support it." Observing one of his friends very much dejected, his lordship clapped him on the shoulder, saying "Cheer up, man, I am not afraid: why should you?" On the scaffold, the first object of his attention was the executioner, to whom he gave his purse with ten guineas, bidding him do his work well. He then felt the edge of the axe, saying he believed it would do, looked at his coffin, on which was written "Simon Dominus Fraser de Lovat decollat. April. 9, 1747, ætat. suæ 80," and sitting down in a chair set for him, repeated from Horace

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,"

and from Ovid,

"Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voco."

He then said a short prayer, called for his solicitor, William Fraser, to whom he gave his gold headed cane and his hat, and requested him to see that the executioner did not touch his clothes. Being undressed he kneeled to the block, gave the signal in half a minute, and the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Thus died Simon lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters re-

corded in Scottish history. He was possessed of good natural talents, which, considering the age in which he lived, and the troubled life he led, had been considerably cultivated, but he was totally destitute of that which alone constitutes true dignity of character, moral worth. His private character, as may well be conceived, from what we have detailed of his public one, was vicious, his appetites coarse, and his pleasures low and unscrupulous. He had, however, seen much of the world, possessed great address, and when he had a purpose to serve, could make himself peculiarly agreeable. Few men have ever been so very fortunate, and as few have recklessly thrown their good fortune from them. "A protracted course of wickedness," one writer has remarked "seems at last to have impaired his natural shrewdness; he digged a pit into which he himself fell, spread a snare with his own hands in which he was caught, and in the just judgment of God, his hoary hairs came to the grave with blood."

Besides his early affair with the dowager of Lovat his lordship was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter to the laird of Grant, and secondly to Primrose, daughter to John Campbell of Mamore. This latter marriage was singularly unfortunate, and after the most unheard of barbarities exercised upon the lady, his lordship was under the necessity of granting her a separate maintenance. By his first wife he had three children, two sons and one daughter, and by the second one son, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Lovat.

FULTON, GEORGE, the author of an improved system of education, was born, February 3, 1752. He served an apprenticeship to a printer in Glasgow, and afterwards worked as journeyman with Mr Willison of Edinburgh. He also practised his profession for a time at Dumfries. In early life he married the daughter of Mr ——— Tod, teacher in Edinburgh. His first appearance as a teacher was in a charity school in Niddry's Wynd, which he taught for twenty pounds a-year. There an ingenious and original mind led him to attempt some improvements in what had long been a fixed, and, we may add, sluggish art. Adopting his ideas partly from the system of Mr Sheridan, and partly from his late profession, he initiated his pupils with great care in a knowledge of the powers of the letters, using moveable characters pasted on pieces of wood, (which were kept in cases similar to those of a compositor in a printing house,) the result of which was, a surprising proficiency generally manifested by his scholars, both in the art of spelling, and in that of pronouncing and reading the English language.

Having thus given full proof of his qualifications as an instructor of youth, Mr Fulton was appointed by the town council one of the four teachers of English under the patronage of the city corporation, in which situation he continued till about the year 1790, when a dispute with the chief magistrate induced him to resign it, and set up on his own account. He then removed from Jackson's Close in the Old Town, to more fashionable apartments in Hanover Street, where he prospered exceedingly for more than twenty years, being more especially patronised by Thomas Tod, Esq., and the late Mr Ramsay of Barn-ton. In teaching grammar and elocution, and in conveying to his pupils correct notions of the analogies of our language, Mr Fulton was quite unrivalled in his day. Many teachers from other quarters became his pupils, and were successful in propagating his system; and he had the honour to teach many of the most distinguished speakers of modern times, both in the pulpit and at the bar. During the long course of his professional life, he was indefatigable in his endeavours to improve his method, and simplify his notation; and the result of his studies was embodied in a Pronouncing Dictionary, which has been introduced into almost all the schools of the kingdom.

Mr Fulton was an eminent instance of the union of talent with frugal and

virtuous habits. Having realized a considerable fortune by teaching, he resigned his school to his nephew, Mr Andrew Knight, and for the last twenty years of his life, enjoyed *otium cum dignitate*, at a pleasant villa called Summerfield (near Newhaven), which he purchased in 1806. In the year 1820, Mr Fulton married, for the second wife, Miss Eliza Stalker, but had no children by either connection. He died, September 1, 1831, in the 80th year of his age.

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GALL, RICHARD, a poet of considerable merit, was the son of a notary in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, where he was born in December, 1776. He received a limited education at Haddington, and at the age of eleven was apprenticed to his maternal uncle, who was a house-carpenter and builder. A decided repugnance to this mechanical art induced him soon after to abandon it, and enter the business of a printer, which was only a degree more suitable to his inclinations, from its connection with literature, to which he was already much attached. In the course of an apprenticeship to Mr David Ramsay, the liberal and enlightened printer of the Edinburgh Evening Courant, he made great advances in knowledge, and began at length to attempt the composition of poetry in the manner of Burns. At the expiry of his time, he had resolved to abandon even this more agreeable profession, as affording him too slight opportunities of cultivating his mind, when fortunately he obtained the appointment of travelling clerk to Mr Ramsay, an employment which promised him much of that leisure for literary recreation, of which he was so desirous. He continued to act in this capacity till his death by abscess in his breast, May 10, 1801, when he wanted still some months to complete his twenty-fifth year.

In the course of his brief career, Mr Gall had secured, by his genius and modest manners, the friendship of various literary characters of considerable eminence, in particular Mr Alexander Murray, afterwards Professor of Oriental Languages, Mr Thomas Campbell, author of the Pleasures of Hope, and Mr Hector Macneill, author of many admired poems in the Scottish dialect. His poetical remains were published in 1819, in one small volume, and include some pieces which have retained their place in the body of our popular poetry, though in general they are characterised by a tameness of thought and language, which will for ever prevent their author from ranking in nearly the same form with Fergusson, Ramsay, and Burns.

GARDEN, FRANCIS, a distinguished judge under the designation of lord Gardenstone, was born at Edinburgh on the 24th of June, 1721. He was the second son of Alexander Garden of Troup, in Banffshire, and of Jane, daughter of Sir Francis Grant, lord Cullen, one of the judges of the court of session. He followed the usual course of education at the grammar school and university, and being destined for the bar, entered as a member of the faculty of advocates on the 14th of July, 1744. During the earlier stages of his professional career, Mr Garden was distinguished for his conviviality, at a period when, especially in Scotland, it must be admitted that real proficiency was requisite to procure fame in that qualification. A strong hale body and an easy benevolent mind gave him a particular taste for social hilarity; had he lived at a different age, he might have turned these qualities into a different channel, but they suited with the period, and he accordingly became the prince of jolly livers. Nor, when he reached that period of life when certain bodily feelings generally

make ancient bacchanalians look back with bitterness on their youthful frolics, did his ever contented mind lose its equanimity. If he was no longer able to indulge himself, he bore the indulgences of others with charity. His mind was of the same overflowing description, and continued, after the body was disabled, to perform its part in the social circle. Many characteristic anecdotes have been preserved of his convivial propensities during his early practice at the bar. On one occasion, during the time when prince Charles Edward was in possession of Edinburgh, he and a Mr Cunningham (afterwards general) are said to have so far preferred wine and oysters, to watching and warding, that, when sent as a patrol by Sir John Cope, to watch the coast towards Musselburgh, instead of proving a protection to the army, they were themselves taken prisoners, just when the feast was at its highest, by a single individual, who happened to be prowling in the neighbourhood. It must, however, be allowed, that at that period, there were not many inducements to exertion held out to Scotsmen of the higher rank. There were few men eminent for their genius, or even for the more passive acquirements of classical learning, which distinguished the neighbouring country. The bar was the only profession which, from its respectability and emoluments, offered itself as a resource to the younger sons of the landed proprietors, then sufficiently poor; and while the learning and information at that time required by its members in their professional capacity were not great, the jealousy of England, just after the Union, allowed but to one family in Scotland, the rational prospect that time and labour might be well spent in preparing for the duties of a statesman. The state of the country and its political influence was singularly discouraging to the upper classes, and from leaving many naturally active spirits unemployed, it turned to indolence or unprofitable amusements, the talents of those who might have been the best ornaments of their country. The nation had then, indeed, begun by degrees to shake off its lethargy, and by the time the subject of this memoir had advanced a little in life, he became one of the most admired and beloved social members of a circle of illustrious philosophers and historians, whose names are dear to the memory of their countrymen, as those who first roused their slumbering energies.

On the 14th of July, 1744, Mr Garden was made sheriff of Kincardineshire, and he soon after showed the soundness of his perception and the liberality of his mind, by stretching forth his hand to assist the modest talent, and elegant taste of the author of the *Minstrel*: to those who may, from its lingering remnants at the present time, have formed any idea of the stately coldness preserved by the higher classes in Scotland towards their inferiors, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it will operate as no small evidence of the discernment and kindness of the judge, that he began his acquaintance with the poet and philosopher, when that individual was only a cotter boy sitting in a field writing with a pencil. In August, 1759, Mr Garden was chosen one of the legal assessors of the town of Edinburgh; and as a higher step in professional advancement, in April, 1761, accepted office in the latter days of Mr Pitt's administration, as joint solicitor-general of Scotland, along with Mr James Montgomery, afterwards lord chief baron. What were his professional attainments as a lawyer, it is at this distance of time difficult to determine, as he has left behind him no professional work, the only index which can lead to a knowledge of his mere technical attainments of a barrister. As a pleader, however, we know he was highly estimated—as his connexion with a renowned lawsuit, which spread its fame over all Europe, and created in Scotland a ferment of disputation inferior only to the heat of religious controversy, has well shown. The appearance made by Mr Garden in the Douglas cause rendered his name better known, and his talents more ap-

preciated, than generally falls to the lot of a mere forensic pleader. He was early connected with the proceedings of this great case, in the Tournelle process in France, where he appeared as senior to his future friend and literary associate, the classical Burnet of Monboddo, and is generally reported to have left behind him a high opinion of his learning, and the powers of his eloquence, even when clothed in a foreign language. He became connected with the case on its transference to England, but amidst its multifarious changes, he was raised to the bench as successor to lord Woodhall on the 3rd of July, 1764, in time to act as a judge on the case, then very different in its aspect and material from what it was when he performed the part of a counsel.

In 1762, Mr Garden had purchased the estate of Johnston, in Kincardineshire, and in 1765, he commenced those improvements on his estate, which, if not among the most brilliant acts of his life, are perhaps among those which deserve to be longest and best remembered. At the time when the estate of Johnston was purchased, the village of Lawrencekirk, if a village it could then be called, contained but fifty-four inhabitants, living there, not because it was a centre of commercial or industrial circulation, but because chance had brought a few houses to be built in each other's vicinity. Lord Gardenstone caused a new line of street to be planned out on his own property; he gave extremely moderate leases of small farms, and ground for building upon, to the last, for the period of 100 years; he established a linen manufactory, built an inn, and with a singular attention to the minute comforts and happiness of his rising flock, seldom equalled by extensive projectors, he founded a library for the use of the villagers. To assist the progress of society in reducing men dispersed over the country into the compact limits of a town, is an easy, and generally a profitable process, but to found towns or villages where there is no previous spirit of influx, is working to a certain degree against nature, and can only be accomplished by labour and expense. Although the benevolent mind of lord Gardenstone, caused a mutual understanding and kindness betwixt himself and his tenants, which mere commercial speculators fail in producing, yet many of his best formed plans for the prosperity of the village proved unavailing, and he was frequently subject to disappointment and needless expense. He seems, however, to have felt the pleasure of being kind without profiting himself. At much expense he supported a printfield and manufacture of stockings, and purchased a royal charter erecting Lawrencekirk into a burgh of barony, with a regular magistracy. He had the satisfaction before his death to find the population increase to five hundred souls, and in a letter to the inhabitants which he published late in life, he says,—“ I have tried in some measure a variety of the pleasures which mankind pursue; but never relished any thing so much as the pleasure arising from the progress of my village.”

In 1776, lord Gardenstone, in addition to his seat on the civil bench, was appointed to fill the office of a lord commissioner of justiciary, or ordinary judge in the criminal court, as successor to lord Pitfour. Nine years afterwards, having succeeded, by the death of his elder brother, to the extensive estate of Troup, he relieved himself for ever from some of his laborious judicial duties, and for a time from them all, and resolved to attempt to recruit his failing constitution, by making a pleasure tour through the continent. Accordingly, in 1786, he passed into France by Dover, visiting Paris and Lyons, remaining during part of the winter at Marseilles. In the ensuing spring he passed to Geneva, where he saw the ruined remnant of Voltaire's village at Ferney, from which he was able to draw a comparison much in favour of his own, where the people enjoyed permanent political rights, which would render them independent of any future superior who might not be disposed to imitate

the beneficence of the original patron. Lord Gardenstone spent the remainder of his allotted time in traversing the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy; making, in his progress, a collection of natural curiosities, and committing to writing a number of cursory remarks on the men and manners he encountered, and the works of art he had seen on his tour or met any where else, part of which were submitted to the world in two duodecimo volumes, denominated "Travelling Memorandums made in a Tour upon the Continent of Europe in the year 1792," and a remaining volume was published after his death. About the same time he published "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," a collection of petty productions which had given him amusement, either in composing or hearing, during his earlier days. Perhaps without affectation, the gravity of the judge might have restrained the man from giving to the world a publication which could not have raised the better part of his reputation. Lord Gardenstone was either not a poet born, or his imagination had not stood the ordeal of a profession which deals in fact and reason. His serious verses have all the stiffness of the French school, without either the loftiness of Pope, or the fire of Dryden. The author had to be sure an ever teeming mind, which never emitted any thing common or contemptible, but it is to be feared, that the merits his verses possess, are those of rhetoric rather than of poetry; for, though constructed in the same workshop which formed words and ideas that thrilled through the minds of a subdued audience, they are certainly very flat and inelegant as poetical productions. The satirical pieces have a singular pungence and acuteness, and are fine specimens of the early natural powers of the author; but they are rather destitute of the tact acquired by professed satirists. A biographer, who seems to have been intimate with his lordship,¹ describes him as having expressed great contempt for the affectation of those who expressed disgust at the indelicacies of Horace or Swift, and it must certainly be allowed, that, in his humorous fragments, he has not departed from the spirit of his precepts, or shown any respect for the feelings of these weaker brethren. Lord Gardenstone spent the latter days of his life, as he had done the earlier, in an unrestricted benevolence, and a social intercourse with the world, indulging in the same principles, which years had softened in their activity, but had not diminished. He was still an ornament and a useful assistant to the circle of great men which raised the respectability of his country. He continued to use his then ample fortune, and his practised acuteness, in giving encouragement to letters, and in useful public projects, the last of which appears to have been the erection of a building over the mineral spring of St Bernard's, in the romantic vale of the water of Leith, a convenience which seems to have been much more highly appreciated formerly than now, and is always mentioned as one of the chief incidents of the judge's life. He died at Morningside, near Edinburgh, on the 22nd of July, 1793. The village which had afforded him so much benevolent pleasure exhibited, for a considerable period after his death, the outward signs of grief, and, what seldom happens in the fluctuations of the world, the philanthropist was mourned by those who had experienced his public munificence, as a private friend.

In person, lord Gardenstone is described as having been a commanding man, with a high forehead, features intellectually marked, and a serious penetrating eye. He was generally a successful speaker, and differed from many orators in being always pleasing. The effect appears to have been produced more by a deep-toned melodious voice, a majestic ease, and carelessness of manner, which

¹ Life introductory to vol. 3d of Travelling Memorandums, the only life of Gardenstone hitherto published—at least the one which, *mutatis mutandis*, has been attached to his name in biographical dictionaries.

made him appear unburdened with difficulties, and a flow of language which, whether treating of familiar or of serious subjects, was always copious—than by the studied art of theatrical oratory. His political principles were always on the side of the people, and so far as may be gathered from his remarks, he would have practically wished that every man should enjoy every freedom and privilege which it might be consonant with the order of society to allow, or which might with any safety be conceded to those who had been long accustomed to the restraints and opinions of an unequal government. From all that can be gathered from his life and character, it is to be regretted that lord Gardenstone, like many other eminent persons of his profession in Scotland, should have left behind him no permanent work to save his memory from oblivion. His “Travelling Memorandums” display the powers of a strongly thinking mind, carelessly strewn about on unworthy objects; the ideas and information are given with taste and true feeling; but they are so destitute of organization or settled purpose, that they can give little pleasure to a thinking mind, searching for digested and useful information, and are only fit for those desultory readers, who cannot, or, like the author himself, will not devote their minds to any particular end. The author’s criticisms, scattered here and there through his memorandums, his letters to his friends in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, and numberless pencil marks on the margins of his books, are always just and searching, and strikingly untrammelled by the prejudices of the day, a quality well exhibited in his praises of Shakspeare, then by no means fashionable, and of the satellites of the great bard, Shirley, Marlow, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher, who were almost forgotten.

GARDINER, JAMES, a distinguished military officer, and christian hero, was born at Carriden in Linlithgowshire, January 11, 1688. Of this remarkable person we shall abridge the pleasing and popular memoir, written by Dr Doddridge, adding such additional particulars as have fallen under our observation in other sources of intelligence.

Colonel Gardiner was the son of captain Patrick Gardiner, of the family of Torwood-head, by Mrs Mary Hodge, of the family of Gladsmuir. The captain, who was master of a handsome estate, served many years in the army of king William and queen Anne, and died abroad with the British forces in Germany, shortly after the battle of Höchstet, through the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of foot once commanded by colonel Hodge, his brother-in-law, who was slain at the head of that regiment, at the battle of Steinkirk, 1692.

Mrs Gardiner, the colonel’s mother, was a lady of a very valuable character; but it pleased God to exercise her with very uncommon trials; for she not only lost her husband and her brother in the service of their country, but also her eldest son, Mr Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the 16th year of his age, at the siege of Namur in 1695.

She took care to instruct her second son, the subject of this memoir, at a very early period of his life in the principles of Christianity. He was also trained up in human literature at the school of Linlithgow, where he made a very considerable progress in the languages. Could his mother, or a very religious aunt, of whose good instructions and exhortations he often spoke with pleasure, have prevailed, he would not have thought of a military life. But it suited his taste; and the ardour of his spirit, animated by the persuasions of a friend who greatly urged it, was not to be restrained. Nor will the reader wonder, that thus excited and supported, it easily overbore their tender remonstrances, when he knows, that this lively youth fought three duels before he attained to the stature of a man; in one of

which, when he was but eight years old, he received from a boy much older than himself, a wound in his right cheek, the scar of which was always very apparent. The false sense of honour which instigated him to it, might seem indeed something excusable in those unripened years, and considering the profession of his father, brother, and uncle; but he was often heard to mention this rashness with that regret, which the reflection would naturally give to so wise and good a man in the maturity of life.

He served first as a cadet, which must have been very early; and when at fourteen years old, he bore an ensign's commission in a Scots regiment in the Dutch service; in which he continued till the year 1702, when he received an ensign's commission from queen Anne, which he bore in the battle of Ramillies, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this memorable action, which was fought May 23, 1706, our young officer was of a party in a forlorn hope, commanded to dispossess the French of the church-yard at Ramillies, where a considerable number of them were posted to remarkable advantage. They succeeded much better than was expected; and it may well be supposed, that Mr Gardiner, who had before been in several encounters, and had the view of making his fortune, to animate the natural intrepidity of his spirit, was glad of such an opportunity of signalizing himself. Accordingly, he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men, he received a shot into his mouth; which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and a half on the left side of the *Vertebræ*. Not feeling at first the pain of the stroke, he wondered what was become of the ball, and in the wildness of his surprise, began to suspect he had swallowed it; but dropping soon after, he traced the passage of it by his finger, when he could discover it no other way. This accident happened about five or six in the evening; and the army pursuing its advantages against the French, without ever regarding the wounded, (which was the duke of Marlborough's constant method,) the young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be supposed, with a great variety of thoughts. When he reflected upon the circumstances of his wound, that a ball should, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought God had preserved him by miracle; and therefore assuredly concluded, that he should live, abandoned and desperate as his state seemed to be. His mind, at the same time, was taken up with contrivances to secure his gold, of which he had a good deal about him; and he had recourse to a very odd expedient, which proved successful. Expecting to be stripped, he first took out a handful of that clotted gore, of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, or he would have been choked; and putting it into his left hand, he took out his money, (about 19 pistoles,) and shutting his hand, and besmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this position till the blood dried in such a manner, that his hand could not easily fall open, though any sudden surprise should happen, in which he might lose the presence of mind which that concealment otherwise would have required.

In the morning the French, who were masters of that spot, though their forces were defeated at some distance, came to plunder the slain; and seeing him to appearance almost expiring, one of them was just applying a sword to his breast, to destroy the little remainder of life; when, in the critical moment, a Cordelier, who attended the plunderers, interposed, taking him by his dress for a Frenchman; and said, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young soldier heard all that passed, though he was not able to speak one word; and, opening his eyes, made a sign for something to drink. They gave him a sup of some

spirituous liquor, which happened to be at hand; by which he said he found a more sensible refreshment than he could remember from any thing he had tasted either before or since. He was afterwards carried by the French to a convent in the neighbourhood, and cured by the benevolent lady-abbess in the course of a few months. His protectress called him her son, and treated him with all the affection and care of a mother; and he always declared, that every thing which he saw within these walls, was conducted with the strictest decency and decorum. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there, and they would fain have persuaded him to acknowledge what they thought so miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the *Catholic Faith*, as they were pleased to call it. But they could not succeed: for though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much of the spirit of a gentleman, lightly to change that form of religion which he wore, as it were, loose about him.

He served with distinction in all the other glorious actions fought by the duke of Marlborough, and rose through a course of rapid and deserved promotion. In 1706, he was made a lieutenant, and very quickly after he received a cornet's commission in the Scots Greys, then commanded by the earl of Stair. On the 31st of January, 1714-15, he was made captain-lieutenant in colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. At the taking of Preston in Lancashire, 1715, he headed a party of twelve, and, advancing to the barricades of the insurgents, set them on fire, notwithstanding a furious storm of musketry, by which eight of his men were killed. A long peace ensued after this action, and Gardiner being favourably known to the earl of Stair, was made his aid-de-camp, and accompanied his lordship on his celebrated embassy to Paris. When lord Stair made his splendid entrance into Paris, captain Gardiner was his master of the horse; and a great deal of the care of that admirably well-adjusted ceremony fell upon him; so that he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under the benign influences of his lordship's favour, which to the last day of his life he retained, a captain's commission was procured for him, dated July 22, 1715, in the regiment of dragoons commanded by colonel Stanhope, then earl of Harrington; and in 1717, he was advanced to the majority of that regiment; in which office he continued till it was reduced, November 10, 1718, when he was put out of commission. But his majesty, king George I., was so thoroughly apprised of his faithful and important services, that he gave him his sign manual, entitling him to the first majority that should become vacant in any regiment of horse or dragoons, which happened about five years after to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commission, dated June 1st, 1724; and on the 20th of July, the same year, he was made major of an older regiment, commanded by the earl of Stair.

The remainder of his military appointments may be here summed up. On the 24th January, 1729-30, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the same regiment, long under the command of lord Cadogan, with whose friendship this brave and vigilant officer was also honoured for many years; and he continued in this rank and regiment till the 19th of April, 1743, when he received a colonel's commission over a new regiment of dragoons, at the head of which he was destined to fall, about two years and a half after he had received it.

Captain Gardiner lived for several years a very gay and dissolute life, inso-much as even to distinguish himself at the dissolute court of the regent Orleans. His conduct was characterized by every species of vice, and his constitution enabled him to pursue his courses with such *insouciance* of manner, that he acquired the name of "the happy rake."

Still the checks of conscience, and some remaining principles of good education, would break in upon his most licentious hours; and I particularly remember, says Dr Doddridge, he told me, that when some of his dissolute companions were once congratulating him on his distinguished felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and saying to himself "Oh that I were that dog!" But these remonstrances of reason and conscience were in vain; and, in short, he carried things so far, in this wretched part of his life, that I am well assured, some sober English gentlemen, who made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable soever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than sought his company, as fearing they might have been ensnared and corrupted by it.

The crisis, however, of this course of wickedness, arrived at last. "I am now come," says his biographer, to that astonishing part of his story, the account of his conversion, which I cannot enter upon without assuring the reader, that I have sometimes been tempted to suppress many circumstances of it; not only as they may seem incredible to some, and enthusiastical to others, but I am very sensible they are liable to great abuses; which was the reason that he gave me for concealing the most extraordinary from many persons to whom he mentioned some of the rest.

This memorable event happened towards the middle of July, 1719; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The major had spent the evening (and, if I mistake not, it was the Sabbath) in some gay company, and had an unhappy assignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven; and not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed, he went into his chamber to kill the tedious hour, perhaps with some amusing book, or some other way. But it very accidentally happened, that he took up a religious book, which his good mother or aunt had, without his knowledge, slipped into his portmanteau. It was called, if I remember the title exactly, *The Christian Soldier, or Heaven taken by Storm*; and was written by Mr Thomas Watson. Guessing by the title of it, that he should find some phrases of his own profession spiritualized, in a manner which he thought might afford him some diversion, he resolved to dip into it; but he took no serious notice of any thing he read in it: and yet, while this book was in his hand, an impression was made upon his mind, (perhaps God only knows how,) which drew after it a train of the most important and happy consequences. There is indeed a possibility, that while he was sitting in this solitude, and reading in this careless and profane manner, he might suddenly fall asleep, and only dream of what he apprehended he saw. But nothing can be more certain, than that, when he gave me this relation, [1739,] he judged himself to have been as broad awake during the whole time, as he ever was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me several times afterwards as what undoubtedly passed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes.

He thought he saw an unusual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at first imagined might happen by some accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes, he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were suspended in the air, a visible representation of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross, surrounded on all sides with a glory; and was impressed, as if a voice, or something equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect, (for he was not confident as to the very words,) "Oh, sinner! did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns?" But whether this were an audible voice, or only a strong impression on his mind equally strik-

ing, he did not seem very confident, though to the best of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with so amazing a phenomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him, so that he sank down in the arm-chair in which he sat, and continued, he knew not exactly how long, insensible; which was one circumstance, that made me several times take the liberty to suggest, that he might possibly be all this while asleep; but however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and saw nothing more than usual.

It may easily be supposed, he was in no condition to make any observation upon the time in which he had remained in an insensible state. Nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and detestable assignation, which had before engrossed all his thoughts. He rose in a tumult of passions, not to be conceived; and walked to and fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down, in unutterable astonishment and agony of heart; appearing to himself the vilest monster in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Christ afresh by his sins, and now saw, as he assuredly believed, by a miraculous vision, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected such a view, both of the majesty and goodness of God, as caused him to loath and abhor himself, and to *repent as in dust and ashes*. He immediately gave judgment against himself, that he was most justly worthy of eternal damnation: he was astonished, that he had not been immediately struck dead in the midst of his wickedness: and (which I think deserves particular remark,) though he assuredly believed that he should ere long be in hell, and settled it as a point with himself for several months, that the wisdom and justice of God did almost necessarily require, that such an enormous sinner should be made an example of everlasting vengeance, and a spectacle as such both to angels and men, so that he hardly durst presume to pray for pardon; yet what he then suffered, was not so much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would soon be his portion, as from a sense of that horrible ingratitude he had shown to the God of his life, and to that blessed Redeemer who had been in so affecting a manner *set forth as crucified before him*.

The mind of major Gardiner continued from this remarkable time till toward the end of October, (that is, rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them,) in as extraordinary a situation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon; but, on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals of hope towards the end of it, took it for granted, that he must in all probability quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, and of the goodness of the Divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in as rational and as useful a manner as he could; and to continue casting himself at the foot of divine mercy, every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could say was, that he did not absolutely despair. He had at that time such a sense of the degeneracy of his own heart, that he hardly durst form any determinate resolution against sin, or pretend to engage himself by any vow in the presence of God; but he was continually crying to him, that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himself a most surprising alteration with regard to the dispositions of his heart; so that, though he felt little of the delight of religious duties, he extremely desired opportunities of being engaged in them; and those licentious pleasures which had before been his heaven, were now absolutely his aversion. And indeed, when I consider how habitual all those criminal indulgences were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be astonished to reflect

upon it, that he should be so wonderfully sanctified in body, as well as in soul and spirit, as that, for all the future years of his life, he, from that hour, should find so constant a disinclination to, and abhorrence of, those criminal sensualities, to which he fancied he was before so invincibly impelled by his very constitution, that he was used strangely to think and to say, that Omnipotence itself could not reform him, without destroying that body and giving him another.

Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption which had been habitual to him for many years, but felt in his breast so contrary a disposition, that he was grieved to see human nature, in those to whom he was most entirely a stranger, prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. He, therefore, exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat, and became an open advocate for religion, in all its principles, so far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to sobriety, righteousness and godliness. Yet he was very desirous and cautious that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his first petitions to God, the very day after these amazing impressions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be suffered to behave with such an affected strictness and preciseness, as would lead others about him into mistaken notions of religion, and expose it to reproach or suspicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reason he endeavoured to appear as cheerful in conversation as he conscientiously could; though, in spite of all his precautions, some traces of that deep inward sense which he had of his guilt and misery, would at times appear. He made no secret of it, however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumstances attending that change. He told his most intimate companions freely, that he had reflected on the course of life in which he had so long joined them, and found it to be folly and madness, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy persons calling themselves Christians. And he set up his standard, upon all occasions, against principles of infidelity and practices of vice, as determinately and as boldly as ever he displayed or planned his colours, when he bore them with so much honour in the field."

Such is the account given by an exceedingly honest and well-meaning writer of the remarkable conversion of colonel Gardiner; an account too minute and curious to be passed over by a modern biographer, whatever credence may be given to the circumstances of which it is composed. While the minds of our readers will probably find an easy explanation of the "phenomenon" in the theories which some late writers have started respecting such impressions of the senses, we shall present a remarkably interesting notice of the pious soldier, which was written twenty years before his death, and a still longer period antecedent to Doddridge's publication, and must therefore be considered as entitled to particular attention and credit. It is extracted from a journal of the historian Wodrow, [MS. Advocates' Library,] where it appears under date May 1725, as having just been taken down from the mouths of various informants:

"From him and others, I have a very pleasant account of major Gardiner, formerly master of horse to the earl of Stairs, and now lately on the death of ——— Craig, made major of Stair's grey horse. He seems to be one of the most remarkable instances of free grace that has been in our times. He is one of the bravest and gallantest men in Britain, and understands military affairs exactly well. He was a lieutenant or a captain many years ago in Glasgow, where he was extremely vicious. He had a criminal correspondence with ———, ¹ as my informer tells us he owns with sorrow. He acknow-

¹ The name is expressed in a secret hand used by the venerable historian.

ledges with the deepest concern there was scarce an evil but what he was addicted to it, and he observes that he on many accounts has reason to reckon himself the chief of sinners, much more than Paul, for besides the multitude of the most horrid sins, he did them not ignorantly and through unbelief, but over the belly of light and knowledge. When he was with my lord Stair, ambassador at Paris, he was riding on one of his most unruly and fiery horses, which could not bear the spur, and in the streets met the hostie and crowd with it. Whether of design or accidentally I cannot say, but his horse and he soon made a clean street, and the hostie came to the ground. The ambassador's house was attacked for the abuse of the hostie, and he was obliged to write over to court about it. The change wrought on the Major a few years ago was *gradual and imperceptible*. I think profane swearing was the first thing he refrained from, and then other vices, and still as he refrained from them, he bore testimony against them in others, in the army, at court, and every where, and reprov'd them in great and small with the utmost boldness. At length he is thoroughly reformed, and walks most closely in ordinances, and while with his troops in Galloway, he haunts mostly at the houses of the ministers; and has made a sensible reformation among the troops he commands, and nothing like vice is to be seen among them. His walk and conversation is most tender and christian; he rises by four in summer and winter, and nobody has access to him till eight, and some later, and these hours he spends in secret religion. He is a close and exemplary keeper of ordinances, and a constant terror to vice wherever he is, and a serious keeper of the Sabbath. We have at this time several excellent officers in the army, and who have been in it. Colonel Blackader, colonel Erskine, lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, and this gentleman. May the Lord increase them!"

"This resolute and exemplary Christian now entered upon that methodical manner of living, which he pursued through so many succeeding years of life. A life any thing like his, could not be entered upon in the midst of such company as he had been accustomed to keep, without great opposition; especially as he did not entirely withdraw himself from all the circles of cheerful conversation; but, on the contrary, gave several hours every day to it, lest religion should be reproached, as having made him morose. He, however, early began a practice, which to the last day of his life he retained, of reprov'g vice and profaneness; and was never afraid to debate the matter with any, under the consciousness of such superiority in the goodness of his cause.

A remarkable instance of this happened about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the story. It was, however, on his first return, to make any considerable abode in England, after this remarkable change. He had heard, on the other side of the water, that it was currently reported among his companions at home, that he was stark mad: a report at which no reader, who knows the wisdom of the world in these matters, will be much surprised, any more than himself. He concluded, therefore, that he should have many battles to fight, and was willing to despatch the business as fast as he could. And therefore, being to spend a few days at the country-house of a person of distinguished rank, with whom he had been very intimate, (whose name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think it proper to inquire after it,) he begged the favour of him that he would contrive matters so, that a day or two after he came down, several of their former gay companions might meet at his lordship's table; that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reasons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that major Gardiner

would be there. A good deal of raillery passed at dinner, to which the major made very little answer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the servants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined, that by the grace of God he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner he was awakened; which they would probably have interpreted as a demonstration of lunacy, against all the gravity and solidity of his discourse; but he contented himself with such a rational defence of a righteous, sober, and godly life, as he knew none of them could with any shadow of reason contest. He then challenged them to propose any thing they could urge, to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was preferable to the fear, love, and worship of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his gospel. And he failed not to bear his testimony from his own experience, that after having run the widest round of sensual pleasures, with all the advantages the best constitution and spirits could give him, he had never tasted any thing that deserved to be called happiness, till he had made religion his refuge and his delight. He testified calmly and boldly, the habitual serenity and peace that he now felt in his own breast, and the composure and pleasure with which he looked forward to objects, which the gayest sinner must acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful. I know not what might be attempted by some of the company in answer to this; but I well remember he told me, the master of the table, a person of a very frank and candid disposition, cut short the debate, and said, 'Come, let us call another cause: we thought this man mad, and he is in good earnest proving that we are so.' On the whole, this well-judged circumstance saved him a great deal of future trouble. When his former acquaintance observed that he was still conversable and innocently cheerful, and that he was immoveable in his resolutions, they desisted from farther importunity. And he has assured me, that instead of losing any one valuable friend by this change in his character, he found himself much more esteemed and regarded by many who could not persuade themselves to imitate his example.

I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726; when, on the 11th of July, he was married to the right honourable lady Frances Erskine, daughter to the fourth earl of Buchan, by whom he had thirteen children, five only of which survived their father,—two sons and three daughters. From this period till the commencement of the French war, he lived either at his villa of Bankton in East Lothian, or moved about through the country with his regiment. Towards the latter end of 1742, he embarked for Flanders, and spent some considerable time with the regiment at Ghent; where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. As he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the colonel himself, he seemed quite easy about it; and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind, than the highest military honours and preferments could have made him. His majesty was at length pleased to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered just in the neighbourhood of his own house in Scotland. It appeared to him, that by this remarkable event providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments

offered him in the army, he chose to return, and I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been an action."

The latter years of his life were rendered gloomy by bad health, and for some time before his death he appeared to move constantly under a serious anticipation of that event. When the insurrection of 1745 commenced in the Highlands, his raw regiment of dragoons constituted an important part of the small military force with which Sir John Cope was required to meet the coming storm. Cope marched in August into the Highlands, leaving Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoon regiments in the low country; and when the insurgents, by a strange manœuvre eluded the government general and descended upon the Lowlands, these inexperienced troops were all that remained to oppose their course. After an ineffectual attempt to protect Edinburgh, the two regiments fled in a panic to Dunbar, where they were rejoined by the foot under the command of Sir John Cope, and the whole army then marched towards the capital in order to meet and give battle to the clans. The worthy colonel was much depressed by the conduct of his men, and anticipated that they would not behave better in the action about to take place: he said, however, that though he could not influence the conduct of others, he had one life to sacrifice for his country's safety, and he would not spare it.

"The two hostile bodies came into view of each other on the 20th of September in the neighbourhood of his own house near Prestonpans. The Colonel drew up his regiment in the afternoon, and rode through all their ranks, addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Christians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attacking the enemy immediately: a desire, in which he and another very gallant officer of distinguished rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which, it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted. He was overruled in this advice, as also in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have planted in the centre of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing. And when he found that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which, out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and submitting to providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.

He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning, he called his domestic servants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He dismissed three of them, with most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their souls, as plainly seemed to intimate, that he apprehended it at least very probable he was taking his last farewell of them. There is great reason to believe, that he spent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in those devout exercises of soul, which had so long been habitual to him, and to which so many circumstances did then

concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day by the noise of the approach of the enemy, and the attack was made before sunrise; yet it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot, they made a furious fire; and it is said that the dragoons which constituted the left wing immediately fled. The Colonel, at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had led the horse, would have persuaded him to retreat: but he said, it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the meantime it was discerned that some of the insurgents fell by him.

Events of this kind pass in less time than the description of them can be written, or than it can be read. The Colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by lieutenant-colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic: and though their Colonel and some other gallant officers, did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight. And just in the moment when colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, he saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, "Those brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" or words to that effect: which while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as they were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened on a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander gave him a stroke, either with a broad sword, or a Lochaber-axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at this time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him to speak, "Take care of yourself:" upon which the servant retired, and fled to a mill, at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the Colonel fell; where he changed his dress, and disguised like a miller's servant, returned as soon as possible; yet not till nearly two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then over, and he found his much honoured master, not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots; yet still breathing, though not capable of speech. In this condition, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house and laid in bed; where he continued breathing and frequently groaning, till about eleven in the forenoon; when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow. Such was the close of a life, which had been so zealously devoted to God, and filled up with so many honourable services.

His remains were interred the Tuesday following, September 24, at the parish church at Tranent—where he had usually attended divine service—with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed

there was no great hazard in this; for his character was so well known, that even they themselves spoke honourably of him, and seemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of so brave and so worthy a man.

In personal appearance, colonel Gardiner was tall, well proportioned, and strongly built, his eyes of a dark grey, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his nose of a length and height no way remarkable, but very well suited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent, his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little inclining to be peaked. He had a strong voice, and lively accent; with an air very intrepid, yet tempered with much gentleness: and there was something in his manner of address most perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart; as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth, to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour."

GED, WILLIAM, the inventor of stereotype printing, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh, in the early part of the eighteenth century. He is said to have first attempted stereotyping in the year 1725. The invention, as may be generally known, consists in casting, by means of a stucco mould, a representation of the superficies of arranged types, which, being fitted to a block, may be used under the press exactly as types are used, and, being retained, may serve at any time to throw off an additional impression. As the metal required for this process is very little compared to that of types, stereotyping is accomplished at an expense, which, though it might come hard upon ordinary jobs, is inconsiderable in others, where it may be the means of saving a new composition of types for subsequent impressions. In the case of a book in general use, such as the Bible, and also in cases where the publication takes place in numbers, and one number is in danger of being sold to a greater extent than another, the process suggested by Ged is of vast utility.¹ In July, 1729, Mr Ged entered into a partnership with William Fenner, a London stationer, and, for the purpose of carrying his invention into practice, allowed Fenner half the profits, in consideration of his advancing the necessary funds. Afterwards, Mr John James, an architect, was taken into the scheme for the same purpose, as was likewise Mr Thomas James, a letter-founder, and Mr James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730, the association applied to the university of Cambridge for printing Bibles and Common-Prayer books, by stereotype, and, in consequence, the lease was sealed to them, April 23, 1731. In their attempt they sank a large sum of money, and finished only two prayer-books, so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738. Ged imputed his disappointment to the villany of the pressmen, and the ill treatment of his partners, particularly Fenner, whom John James and he were advised to prosecute, but declined. In 1733, this ingenious man returned with blighted prospects to Edinburgh. Afterwards, however, by the advice of his friends, he gave to the world, a specimen of his invention, in an edition of Sallust, finished, it is said, in 1736, but not published till 1744, as the following imprint on the title page testifies:—"Edinburgi, Gulielmus Ged, Aurifaber, Edinensis, non typis mobilibus, ut vulgo fieri solet, sed tabellis seu laminis fuis, excudebat, MDCCXLIV." James

¹ The editor trusts he may mention, without any appearance of obtrusiveness, that his elder brother and himself have found an advantage in stereotyping which was not formerly experienced, and which may be described as a new power developed in the art. In a periodical work published by them, the process is employed to cast more plates than one, in order that the work may be published in various parts of the empire at the same time, without the cost of a different composition of types for each place, and so as to avoid a carriage of paper, which would otherwise be enormously expensive.

Ged, his son and former partner, engaged in the insurrection of 1745, as a captain in the duke of Perth's regiment, and being taken at Carlisle, was condemned, but, on his father's account, by Dr Smith's interest with the duke of Newcastle, was released in 1745. He afterwards went to Jamaica, where he settled, and where his brother William was already established as a printer. William Ged, the inventor of an art which has been of incalculable advantage to mankind, experienced what has been the fate of too many ingenious and useful men; he died, October 19, 1749, in very indifferent circumstances, after his utensils had been shipped at Leith for London, where he intended to renew partnership with his son James. The Misses Ged, his daughters, lived many years after in Edinburgh, where they kept a school for young ladies, and were much patronized by the Jacobite gentry.² Another member of the family, by name Dougal, was a captain in the town guard, or military police, of Edinburgh, in the days of Fergusson the poet.

GEDDES, ALEXANDER, celebrated as a poet, a critic, and miscellaneous writer, was born at Arradowl, in the parish of Ruthven, Banffshire, in the year 1737. His father, Alexander Geddes, rented a small farm on the Arradowl estate, and, in common with that class of people in Scotland at that time, was in very poor circumstances. His mother was of the Mitchells of Dellachy, in the neighbouring parish of Bellay, and both were of the Roman catholic persuasion. The parents being anxious to procure for their son the benefits of learning, he was, with a view to the service of the church, at a very tender age, put to learn his letters under a woman who kept a school in the village, of the name of Sellar. Here he learned to read the English Bible, which seems to have been the only book his parents possessed, and which, contrary to the general practice of people of their communion, they encouraged him "to read with reverence and attention." In perusing this book, young Geddes took a singular delight, and, by the time he was eleven years of age, had got the historical parts of it nearly by heart. At this period the laird of Arradowl having engaged a tutor of the name of Shearer, from Aberdeen, for his two sons, was looking about him for three boys of promising parts, whom he might educate gratuitously along with them, and who might afterwards be devoted to the service of the church. Young Geddes, already celebrated for his talents, and for his love of study, immediately attracted his notice, and, along with a cousin of his own, John Geddes, who afterwards became titular bishop of Dunkeld, and another boy, was taken into the house of Arradowl, where he enjoyed all the advantages peculiar to the laird's superior situation in life, and, we may reasonably suppose, though we have not seen it noticed, that his improvement was correspondent to his privilege. From the hospitable mansion of Arradowl, he was, by the influence of the laird himself, admitted into the Catholic free seminary of Sculan, a seminary intended solely for young men who were to be afterwards sent abroad to receive holy orders in some of the foreign universities. No situation was ever better chosen for the educating of monks than Sculan, standing in a dismal glen, overhung with mountains on all sides, so high as to preclude the sun from being seen for many months in the year. "Pray, be so kind," said Geddes, writing from that dreary spot, to one of his fellow students, who had obtained leave to visit his friends, "as to make particular inquiries after the health of the sun. Fail not to present my compliments to him, and tell him I still hope I shall one day be able to renew the honour of

² Among the curiosities preserved in Fingask castle, Perthshire, the seat of Sir Peter Murray Threipland, Bart., is a page of the stereotypes of Ged's Sallust, which had probably been obtained from the inventor or his family by the late Sir Stewart Threipland, who was a distinguished partisan of the family of Stuart.

personal acquaintance with him." Here, to a knowledge of the vulgar English Bible, he added a knowledge of the vulgar Latin one, which appears to have been all the benefit he received by a seven years seclusion from the sun, and from the world which he illuminated. Having attained the age of twenty-one, he was removed to the Scots college at Paris, where he completed his knowledge of the Latin language, to which he added Hebrew, Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Low Dutch. Theology and biblical criticism were the principal objects of his attention, for he had already formed the design of making a new translation of the Bible for the use of his Catholic countrymen, to the accomplishing of which all his studies seem to have been directed from a very early period of his life. When he had completed his course in the Scots college at Paris, he was solicited to take a share of the public labours of the college, and to fix, of course, his residence in that gay metropolis. This, however, after some hesitation, he declined, and, after an absence of six years, returned to his native country in the year 1764. Having entered into orders, Geddes, on his arrival in Scotland, was, by his ecclesiastic superior, ordered to reside at Dundee, as officiating priest to the Catholics of Angus. This situation he did not long fill, being invited by the earl of Traquair to reside in his family at Traquair house, whither he repaired in the month of May, 1765.

Here Mr Geddes was situated as happily as his heart could have wished, he had plenty of time, with the use of an excellent library, and he seems to have prosecuted his favourite study with great diligence. He had been in this happy situation, however, little more than a year, when the openly displayed affection of a female inmate of the house, a relation of the earl, rendered it necessary for him, having taken the vow of perpetual celibacy, to take an abrupt departure from the Arcadian scenery of the Tweed. Leaving with the innocent author of his misfortune a beautiful little poem, entitled *The Confessional*, he again bade adieu to his native land, and in the varieties and volatilities of Paris, endeavoured to forget his pain. Even in this condition, however, he did not lose sight of his great object, as, during the time he remained in Paris, he made a number of valuable extracts from books and manuscripts which he consulted in the public libraries.

Paris never was a place much to his mind, and it was less so now than ever, when it presented him with no definite object of pursuit. He therefore returned to Scotland in the spring of the year 1769. He had by this time recovered, in some degree, possession of himself, but he dared not encounter the fascination of the beloved object, or re-engage in the domestic scenes from which he had found it necessary to fly. Turning, therefore, to the scenes of his early life, he was offered the charge of a Catholic congregation at Auchinhalrig, in the county of Banff, which he accepted. The members of this little community were poor, their chapel was in ruins, and the most inveterate rancour subsisted among themselves, and between them and their Protestant neighbours. Mr Geddes, however, was not to be appalled by the prospect of difficulties, however numerous and formidable. His first object was to pull down the old chapel, and to build a new one on the spot. His own house, too, which his biographer dignifies with the name of a parsonage-house, he found necessary to repair almost from the foundation, and he added to it the luxury of an excellent garden, from which he was able, on many occasions, to supply the necessities of his people. In these proceedings, Mr Geddes was not only useful, in directing and overseeing the workmen, but as a workman himself, many of the most important operations being performed with his own hands. Having thus provided for the assembling of his congregation, his next object was to correct that extreme bigotry by which they were characterised. For this end,

he laboured to gain their affections by the most punctilious attention to every part of his pastoral duty, and by the most unbounded charity and benevolence. The ceremonies of popery he despised as heartily as any presbyterian. The Scriptures he earnestly recommended to his people, and exhorted them to think for themselves, and to allow the same privilege to others. Many of the peculiarities of popery, indeed, he denounced as most iniquitous, and utterly repugnant to the spirit of genuine catholicity. In his judgment of others, Geddes himself showed the utmost liberality; and he even ventured to appear as a worshipper in the church of a neighbouring parish on different occasions. By these means, if he did not convert to his views the papists of Auchinhalrig, which we believe he did not, he acquired a very high character to himself, and formed many valuable friendships among men of all descriptions. Than this conduct nothing could be better fitted to attain the object which the papists were by this time very generally beginning to entertain,—that of obtaining political power and influence; and in this respect, Geddes, by dereliction of principle, did more for their cause than all other men beside: yet their zeal could not be restrained, even for this most obvious purpose, and he had the mortification to find that he was provoking very generally the resentment of his clerical brethren. His diocesan bishop, Hay, threatened him with suspension if he did not behave with greater circumspection, particularly in regard to the dangerous and contaminating influence of heretical intercourse; but having no supreme court before which to bring the refractory and rebellious priest, the bishop was under the necessity of letting the controversy drop. Unfortunately the poor priest had become personally bound for considerable sums expended in building the chapel and repairing the manse, for the payment of which he had trusted to the liberality of his people. There was no appearance of his expectations being realized, and his creditors—a class of people whom he could not so easily set at defiance as the bishop,—becoming clamorous, a “charge of horn-ing,” was likely to suspend him more effectually than the order of his diocesan, when, through the friendship of the earl of Traquair, he was introduced to the notice of the duke of Norfolk, who, having learned the extent of the obligations he had come under in his pastoral capacity, claimed the privilege of discharging them as an earnest of future friendship. Geddes was thus relieved from serious embarrassments, but his income was far too scanty to supply his necessities, though they were by no means so numerous as those of many others in his situation. In order to provide for himself without burdening his congregation, he took a small farm at Enzie, in Fochabers, in the vicinity of Auchinhalrig, which he stocked by means of a loan, built a little chapel upon it, where he proposed to officiate as well as at Auchinhalrig, and in imagination saw himself already happy and independent. There have been men of letters, who have been, at the same time, men of business. They have been, however, but few; and Geddes was not of the number. It was in the year 1775 that he commenced his agricultural speculations, and by the year 1778, he found himself in a still deeper state of embarrassment than when he had been relieved by the duke of Norfolk. The expedient he adopted on this occasion, was one that was much more likely to have added to his embarrassments than to have relieved them. He published at London “Select Satires of Horace, translated into English verse, and for the most part adapted to the present times and manners.” This publication, contrary to all human probability, succeeded so well that it brought him a clear profit of upwards of one hundred pounds, which, with some friendly aid from other quarters, set him once more clear of pecuniary embarrassments. The remark of one of his biographers on this circumstance ought not to be suppressed:—“To be brought to the brink of ruin by farming and kirk building,

and to be saved from it by turning poetaster, must be allowed to be rather out of the usual course of events."

Finding that his pen was of more service to him than his plough, Mr Geddes now seriously thought of quitting his retirement, and trying his fortune in London. He was, however, so strongly attached to his flock, that it might have been long before he put his design into execution, had not a circumstance occurred to give it new vigour. Lord Findlater had about this time married a daughter of count Murray of Melgum, who, being educated abroad, was unacquainted with English. Mr Geddes was employed by his lordship to teach her that language. In the house of his lordship he was introduced to the Rev. Mr Buchanan, who had been tutor to his lordship, and was now minister of the parish of Cullen, with whom he formed a most intimate acquaintance, and did not scruple to attend occasionally upon his ministry in the church of Cullen. This latter circumstance rekindled the long smothered ire of bishop Hay, who sent him an angry remonstrance, which he followed up by suspending him from all his ecclesiastical functions. This at once dissolved the tie between Mr Geddes and his congregation, from whom, in the end of the year 1779, he took an affectionate leave; and selling off what property he possessed at Enzie by public roup, prepared, without regret, to leave once more his native country. His people testified their affection for him, by buying up, with extraordinary avidity every thing that belonged to him, even to the articles of broken cups and saucers. Nor were his protestant friends wanting to him on this occasion. Through their joint influence, the university of Aberdeen stepped forward with praiseworthy liberality, and conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws.

Leaving Enzie, Dr Geddes devoted a few weeks to visits of friendship, and in company with lord Traquair, repaired to London in the beginning of the year 1780. Through the influence of lord Traquair he was almost immediately nominated to be officiating priest in the chapel of the imperial ambassador. The literary fame he had already acquired by his imitations of Horace, and the letters with which he was honoured by his friends in the north, introduced him at once to the most celebrated literary characters of the day, which gave great elasticity to his naturally buoyant spirits. Several libraries, too, both public and private, being thrown open to him, he resumed with redoubled ardour his early project of translating the Bible for the use of his Roman Catholic countrymen. Through the duchess of Gordon he was also introduced to lord Petre, who was like himself a catholic, and was anxious to have a translation of the Bible such as Dr Geddes proposed to make. To enable him to go on without any interruption, his lordship generously allowed him a salary of two hundred pounds a year till the work should be finished, besides being at the expense of whatever private library he might find necessary for his purpose. This was encouragement not only beyond what he could reasonably have hoped for, but equal to all that he could have wished; and the same year he published a sketch of his plan under the title of an "Idea of a new version of the Holy Bible, for the use of the English catholics." This Idea in general, for we have not room to be particular, was "a new and faithful translation of the Bible, from corrected texts of the original, unaccompanied with any gloss, commentary, or annotations, but such as are necessary to ascertain the literal meaning of the text, and free of every sort of interpretation calculated to establish or defend any particular system of religious credence." At the close of this year he ceased to officiate in the imperial ambassador's chapel, the establishment being suppressed by an order from the emperor Joseph II. He continued to preach, however, occasionally at the chapel in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, till the

Easter holidays of 1792, when he found his time so completely taken up by his literary projects, especially his translation, that he voluntarily withdrew from every stated ministerial function. The following year Dr Geddes paid a visit to Scotland, during which he wrote "Linton, a Tweeddale pastoral, in honour of the birth of a son and heir to the noble house of Traquair." He passed with the earl and his countess on a tour to the south of France, came back with them to Scotland, and shortly after returned to London. He was about this time introduced to Dr Kennicott, by whom he was introduced to Dr Lowth, and both of them took a deep interest in his undertaking. At the suggestion of the latter, Dr Geddes wrote a new prospectus, detailing more fully and explicitly the plan he meant to follow. This was given to the public in 1786: it had a very general circulation, and was well received. In the year 1785, he was elected a corresponding member by the Society of Scottish Antiquaries,—an honour which he acknowledged in a Poetical Epistle to that respectable body. This epistle is printed in the first volume of the transactions of the society, as also a dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon dialect, with the first eclogue of Virgil, and the first idyllium of Theocritus, translated into Scottish verse.

He was now advancing with his translation; but in the year 1787, he published an appendix to his prospectus, in the form of a "Letter addressed to the bishop of London, containing queries, doubts, and difficulties relative to a vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures." He published the same year a letter to Dr Priestly, in which he attempted to prove, by one prescriptive argument, that the divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive tenet of Christianity. About the same time he published his letter on the case of the Protestant dissenters. In the year 1788, he engaged as a contributor to the Analytical Review, for which he continued to furnish many valuable articles during the succeeding five years and a half. It was during the year just mentioned, that he issued "Proposals for printing by subscription a new translation of the Holy Bible," &c. His "General Answer to the counsels and criticisms that have been communicated to him since the publication of his proposals for printing a New Translation of the Bible," appeared in the year 1790. Of the same date was his "Answer to the bishop of Comana's Pastoral Letter, by a protesting Catholic," followed by "A letter to the R.R. the archbishop and bishops of England, &c. *Carmen Seculare pro Gallica*, &c. and an *Epistola Macaronica ad Fratrem*," &c. In the year 1791, he was afflicted with a dangerous fever, and on his recovery, accepted of an invitation to visit lord Petre at his seat at Norfolk. This journey produced "A Norfolk Tale, or a Journey from London to Norwich, with a Prologue and an Epilogue," published in the following year. The same year he published "An Apology for Slavery," a poem, entitled *L'Avocat du Diable*, &c. and "The first book of the Iliad of Homer, verbally rendered into English verse," &c. Amidst these multifarious avocations, he was still proceeding with his translation, and in the year 1792, though his subscription list was far from being filled up, he published "The first volume of the Holy Bible, or the books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians, otherwise called the books of the Old and New Covenants, faithfully translated from corrected texts of the originals, with various readings, explanatory notes, and critical remarks."

Dr Geddes had by this time engaged a house for himself in Alsop's Buildings, New Road, Mary-le-bone, which he had fitted up with his own hands in a curious and convenient style. He had also a garden both before and behind his house, which he cultivated with the industry of a day labourer, and with the zeal of a botanizing philosopher; he had "a biblical apparatus [a library] through the princely munificence of lord Petre," superior to most individuals, and he wanted only the incense of the world's applause to this idol of

a translation, which he had set up to outrage alike the faith of Jews and Christians, to make his triumph perfect and his happiness complete. The vain man had by his "Idea," his "Prospectus," his "Appendix," and his "Answer to counsels and queries," secured, as he supposed, the concurrence of mankind, while he had in fact only excited expectations which, though his talents had been increased a hundred fold, he would have found himself unable to satisfy. What must he have felt or thought when he found that the book, instead of pleasing all the world, as he had vainly hoped, pleased nobody. Christians of every description considered it an insidious attack upon the foundations of their faith, and the Catholics, for whose benefit it was stated to have been mainly intended, were by a pastoral letter from their vicars apostolic forbidden to read it. Geddes, in an address to the public the following year, defended himself with great boldness, laying claim, like every other infidel, to the most fearless honesty and the strictest impartiality. The failure of his hopes, however, affected him so deeply that his biblical studies were for a time nearly suspended, and it required all the attentions of his friends to prevent him from sinking into the deepest despondency. In the meantime, he soothed, or attempted to soothe his chagrin by writing two Latin odes in praise of the French revolution, but which, on the representations of his friends, he allowed to lie unpublished till the period of the peace in the year 1801. He also wrote and published at this time a translation of Gresset's *Ver Vert*, or the Parrot of Nevers, which did him no honour, the poem having been only a short while before translated more happily by John Gilbert Couper. In the year 1795, he published an Ode to the honourable Thomas Pelham, occasioned by his speech on the Catholic question in the Irish house of commons, which was followed, in 1796, by a Hudibrastic paraphrase of a sermon which had been preached by a Dr Coult-hurst on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, before the university of Cambridge. In 1797, he published "The battle of B * ng * r, or the Church's Triumph, a comic heroic poem in nine cantoes." The subject of this poem was suggested by the notable contest between bishop Warren and Mr Grindly, and it is unquestionably the most finished of all his English poems. The same year he published the second volume of his translation of the Bible, which brought it to the end of the Book of Ruth, beyond which it was not destined to advance in its regular form.

During the two succeeding years he published two burlesque sermons, ridiculing the fast-day sermons of the established clergy, and in the year 1800, his *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures*, corresponding with a new translation of the Bible, vol. I., containing remarks on the Pentateuch. If there had been any doubt on the public mind respecting the principles of Dr Geddes, this volume must have removed it. These remarks are less scurrilous perhaps, but not less impious than those of Thomas Paine, and, professing to be the result of laborious learning, sound philosophy, and a most enlarged and enlightened Christianity, are to weak minds much more dangerous, and to the well informed more offensively disgusting, than even the flippancies of that celebrated unbeliever. They had not, however, the merit of meeting the general ideas of mankind, and we believe are already nearly forgotten. The encouragement with which he commenced his publication was greatly inadequate to meet the expense; and this encouragement, instead of increasing, had greatly fallen off;—the work being printed, too, solely at his own expense, he soon found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties, from which he had not the means of extricating himself. Never had a reckless man, however, such a singularly good fortune. We have already seen him twice rescued from ruin in a way, on both occasions, which no one less fortunate than himself could have hoped for, and on

this occasion his situation was no sooner disclosed than a plan was devised for his relief, and executed almost without his knowledge. "It is to the credit of the age in which we live," says his biographer, "that, without any further application on his own part, persons of every rank and religious persuasion, protestants and catholics, clergy and laity, nobility and gentry, several of whom had never known him but by name, and many of whom had professed a dislike of his favourite tenets, united in one charitable effort to rescue him from anxiety and distress; nor should it be forgotten that some part at least of the amount subscribed proceeded from the right reverend bench itself. The sum thus collected and expended for him, from the year 1798 to the middle of the year 1800, independent of his annuity from lord Petre, amounted to nine hundred pounds sterling. Nor was this all: measures were taken at the same time to prevent any such disagreeable occurrence in future. In the buoyancy of spirit which this great deliverance excited, he published a modest apology for the Catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants, particularly to the members of both houses of parliament. This work was published anonymously; but it had been written twenty years before, and from the style and the whispers of his friends, was soon known to be his. It was translated into the French and German languages, and, considered as the work of a man who professed himself to be a catholic, is certainly a most singular performance. It was about this time the famous rencountre between William Gifford, author of the *Baviad*, and Dr Walcot, better known by the name of Peter Pindar, took place in the shop of Mr Wright, bookseller in Picadilly, on which Dr Geddes published "*Bardomachia, or the Battle of the Bards*." This he was at the trouble of composing first in Latin and afterwards translating into English, so that it was published in both languages. In the following year, 1801, Dr Geddes sustained an irreparable loss in the death of his noble patron, lord Petre. His lordship died of an attack of the gout in July 1801, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. By his latter will he bequeathed to Dr Geddes an annuity of one hundred pounds; and his son, the heir of his virtues as well as of his honours, when he intimated the circumstance to the Doctor, politely proposed to add a yearly salary of the same amount. Nor ought it to be suppressed on this occasion, that Mr Timothy Brown of Chiswell street, before Dr Geddes was apprised of lord Petre's generous intentions, had engaged that the two hundred pounds a year which he was likely to lose by the death of his patron, should be supplied by the voluntary contributions of those friends who had so generously come forward on the late occasion, or in case of their declining it, by an equal salary to be annually paid by himself. Though he was thus no loser in a pecuniary point of view, he felt the void hereby produced in his happiness, and almost in his existence, to be irreparable; and it was long before his mind recovered so much calmness as to reason on the subject, or to admit the sympathies of surviving friends. His grief, however, began to assume a milder character, and he attempted to soothe his feelings by composing for his departed friend a Latin Elegy, and he gave successive proofs that the embers of his habitual hilarity still glowed with a few vital sparks. He did not, however, feel himself at any period sufficiently collected for a regular prosecution of his favourite undertaking. At the pressing request of his friends, he began to prepare for the press the *Psalms*, to be printed in a separate volume. With the translation he did not get further than the one hundred and eighteenth. A trifling Ode on the restoration of peace, written in Latin, was one of his amusements at this time, and a Latin Elegy on the death of Gilbert Wakefield was the last of his compositions. Mr Wakefield died in the month of September, 1801, when Dr Geddes was already deeply affected with

the painful disease that carried him off early in the following spring. Through the whole of the winter, his sufferings must often have been extreme, though he had intervals in which he was comparatively easy. He died suddenly on the 20th of February, 1802, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

As there has been a story told of Dr Geddes having recanted his opinions on his death-bed, it becomes an imperious duty to state the manner of his death, as related by those who were about him at the time. The rites of that communion to which he professed to belong, were, notwithstanding his avowed contempt for the greater part of them, administered to him by his friend M. St Martin, a doctor of the Sorbonne and professor of divinity. The day before his death, Dr Geddes was visited by this friend, who was anxious to recall him from those aberrations he had made from the faith, and for this purpose had a list of questions drawn up, to which he meant to insist upon having answers. The state into which by this time the Doctor had fallen, rendered this impracticable. Sensible that he was in great danger, M. St Martin endeavoured to rouse him from his lethargy, and proposed to him to receive absolution. Geddes observed that in that case it would be necessary for him to make his confession. M. St Martin, aware that this was beyond his strength, replied that *in extremis* this was not necessary, that he had only to examine the state of his own mind, and to make a sign when he was prepared. He could not, however, avoid putting a question or two upon the more important points upon which they differed. "You fully," said he, "believe in the Scriptures?" Geddes, rousing himself from his sleep, said "Certainly." "In the doctrine of the Trinity?" "Certainly, but not in the manner you mean." "In the mediation of Jesus Christ?" "No, no, no,—not as you mean; in Jesus as our Saviour—but not in the atonement." After a pause he said, "I consent to all"—but of these words M. St Martin did not comprehend the meaning. The Doctor shortly after gave the sign that he was ready, and received from M. St Martin absolution in the way he had proposed. It was the intention of M. St Martin to have passed the night with him, but calling in the evening, found that the physician had forbidden any of his friends to be admitted. A domestic, however, in a neighbouring house, of the catholic persuasion, who knocked at the door during the night, just as he was dying, was admitted, and, according to the rites of her church, repeated over him the Creed, Paternoster, and Ave Maria. Dr Geddes opened his eyes as she had concluded, gave her his benediction, and expired.

Perhaps there is not in the history of literary men a character that calls more loudly for animadversion, or that requires a more skilful hand to lay it open, than that of Dr Geddes. He professed a savage sort of straight-forward honesty, that was at war on multiplied occasions with the common charities of life, yet amid his numerous writings, will any man take it on him to collect what were really his opinions upon the most important subjects of human contemplation? He professed himself a zealous catholic; yet of all or nearly all that constitutes a catholic, he has spoken with as much bitterness as it was possible for any protestant to have done. If it be objected that he added to the adjective Catholic the noun Christian, when he says that he admits nothing but what has been taught by Christ, his apostles, and successors in *every age and in every place*, we would ask how much we are the wiser. He professed to believe in Jesus Christ, and in the perfection of his code, but he held Moses to have been a man to be compared only with Numa and Lycurgus; a man who like them pretended to personal intercourse with the Deity, from whom he never received any immediate communication; a man who had the art to take advantage of rarely occurring natural circumstances, and to persuade the Israelites that they were accomplished under his direction by the immediate power of

God; a man, in short, conspicuous above all men as a juggling impostor. Now to the divine mission of Moses, we have the direct testimony of Jesus Christ himself, with the express assurance, that without believing in Moses it was impossible to believe in him. But we cannot here follow out the subject, nor can we enter into any particular analysis of his works, to which the eccentricities of his character, the singularity of his opinions, and the peculiar circumstances of his life, gave for a time an interest, to which they were not at any time entitled. His translation of the Bible, after all the professions he had made, the means he had accumulated, and the expectations he had excited, was a complete failure, and has only added another demonstration to the thousands that had preceded it, how much more easy it is to write fluently and plausibly about great undertakings, than to perform them. We intended here to have noticed more particularly his translation of the first book of the Iliad of Homer, which he undertook for the purpose of demonstrating his superiority to Cowper, but upon second thoughts have forbore to disturb its peaceful slumbers. Upon the whole, Dr Geddes was unquestionably a man of learning and of genius, but from an unhappy temper, and the preponderating influence of arrogance and vanity in his constitution, they were of little avail to himself, and have not been greatly useful to the general interests of mankind.

GEDDES, JAMES, an advocate at the Scottish bar, was born in the county of Tweeddale, about the year 1710, and being the son of a gentleman in good circumstances, was educated by tutors under his father's roof. The progress which he made in the learned languages and philosophy, was considered extraordinary; and he fulfilled every promise at the university of Edinburgh, where he distinguished himself, particularly in mathematics, which he studied under the celebrated Maclaurin. Having prepared himself for the bar, he entered as an advocate, and soon acquired considerable reputation. His labours as a lawyer did not prevent him from devoting much time to his favourite studies—the poets, philosophers, and historians of antiquity; and in 1748, he published at Glasgow his “*Essay on the Composition and Manner of Writing of the Ancients, particularly Plato.*” The year after this publication, he died of lingering consumption, much regretted, both on account of his learning—the fruits of which had not been fully given to the world—and for his manners and disposition, which were in the highest degree amiable.

GEDDES, MICHAEL, a distinguished divine of the church of England, and author of some admired works, was educated at the university of Edinburgh, where, in 1671, he took the degree of master of arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, on the 11th of July, in the same year. He was one of the first four natives of Scotland who were permitted to take advantage of the exhibitions founded in Baliol college, Oxford, by bishop Warner, with the view of promoting the interests of the Episcopal church in Scotland. Geddes, however, did not return to propagate or enforce the doctrines of that body in his native country. He went in 1678 to Lisbon, as chaplain to the English factory; the exercise of which function giving offence to the inquisition, he was sent for by that court in 1686, and forbidden to continue it. This persecution obviously arose from the attempts now making by king James at home to establish popery. The English merchants, resenting the violation of their privilege, wrote on the 7th of September to the bishop of London, representing their case, and their right to a chaplain, as established by the commercial treaty between England and Portugal; but before this letter reached its destination, the bishop was himself put into the same predicament as Mr Geddes, being suspended from his functions by the ecclesiastical commission. Finding that his case had become hopeless, Geddes returned to England, in May, 1688, where he took the

degree of doctor of laws, and after the promotion of Burnet to the bishopric of Salisbury, was made by him chancellor of his church.¹ During his residence at Lisbon, he had amassed a great quantity of documents respecting Spanish and Portuguese history, which enabled him, in 1694, to publish a volume, styled "The Church History of Malabar." Of this work, archbishop Tillotson says in a letter to bishop Burnet, dated June 28th, 1694, "Mr Geddes's book finds a general acceptation and approbation. I doubt not but he hath more of the same kind, with which I hope he will favour the world in due time." He was accordingly encouraged in 1696 to publish the "Church History of Æthiopia," and in 1697, a pamphlet entitled "The Council of Trent plainly discovered not to have been a free assembly." His great work, however, was his "Tracts on Divers Subjects," which appeared in 1714, in three volumes, being a translation of the most interesting pieces which he had collected at Lisbon, and of which a list is given in Moreri's *Grand Dictionaire Historique*, art. Geddes. The learned doctor must have died previous to the succeeding year, as in 1715 appeared a posthumous volume of tracts against the Roman Catholic church, which completes the list of his publications.

GERARD, ALEXANDER, D. D., an eminent divine and writer, was the eldest son of the reverend Gilbert Gerard, minister of the chapel of Garioch, a parish in Aberdeenshire, where he was born on the 22nd of February, 1728. He was removed at the period destined for the commencement of his education, to the parish of Foveran, in the same county, the humble schoolmaster of which appears to have possessed such superior classical attainments, that the reverend gentleman felt justified in delivering his son up to his care,—a preference which the future fame of that son, founded on his correctness of acquisition and observation, must have given his friends no cause to regret. At the age of ten, on the death of his father, he was removed to the grammar school of Aberdeen, whence he emerged in two years, qualified to enter as a student of Marischal college. Having there performed his four years of academical attendance in the elementary branches, he finished his career with the usual ceremony of "the graduation," and appeared before the world in the capacity of master of arts at the age of sixteen,—not by any means the earliest age at which that degree is frequently granted, but certainly at a period sufficiently early to entitle him to the character of precocious genius. Immediately after finishing these branches of education, he commenced in the divinity hall of Aberdeen his theological studies, which he afterwards finished in Edinburgh.

In 1748, he was a licensed preacher of the church of Scotland, and about two years thereafter, Mr D. Fordyce, professor of natural philosophy in Marischal college, having gone abroad, he lectured in his stead; and on the regretted death of that gentleman, by shipwreck on the coast of Holland, just as he was returning to his friends, Mr Gerard was appointed to the vacant professorship. At the period when Mr Gerard was appointed to a chair in Marischal college, the philosophical curriculum, commencing with logic, proceeded immediately to the abstract subjects of ontology and pneumatics, the course gradually decreasing in abstruseness with the consideration of morals and politics, and terminating with the more definite and practical doctrines of natural philosophy. Through the whole of this varied course it was the duty of each individual to lead his pupils; mathematics and Greek being alone taught by separate professors. The evils of this system suggested to the professors of Marischal college, the formation of a plan for the radical alteration of the routine, which has since been most beneficially conducive to the progress of Scottish literature. A very curious and now rare pamphlet, from the pen of Dr Gerard, exists on this subject;

¹ Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 334.

it is entitled, "Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of it, drawn up by order of the Faculty," printed at Aberdeen in 1755; a little work of admirable perspicuity and sound logical reasoning. The rationale of the ancient system was founded on the presumption, that, as it is by the use of logic and the other metaphysical sciences alone, that we can arrange, digest, and reason upon the facts which come under our observation, these must be committed to the mind as rules of management, before any facts collected can be applied to their proper purposes, and that before any knowledge of nature, as it exists, is stored in the intellect, that intellect must be previously possessed of certain regulations, to the criterion of which the knowledge gained must be submitted. A quotation from Dr Gerard's little work will afford one of the best specimens of the now pretty generally understood confutation of this fallacy; speaking of logic, he says:—"This is one of the most abstruse and difficult branches of philosophy, and therefore quite improper to begin with. It has a strict dependence on many parts of knowledge: these must of consequence be premised, before it can be rightly apprehended,—the natural history of the human understanding must be known, and its phenomena discovered; for without this, the exertions of the intellectual faculties, and their application to the various subjects of science will be unintelligible. These phenomena must be not only *narrated*, but likewise, as far as possible, *explained*: for without investigating their general laws, no certain and general conclusions concerning their exercise can be deduced: nay, all sciences, all branches of knowledge whatever, must be premised as a groundwork to genuine logic. History has one kind of evidence, mathematics another; natural philosophy, one still different; the philosophy of nature, another distinct from all these; the subordinate branches of these several parts, have still minuter peculiarities in the evidence appropriated to them. An unprejudiced mind will in each of these be convinced by that species of argument which is peculiar to it, though it does not reflect how it comes to be convinced. By being conversant in *them*, one is prepared for the study of *logic*; for they supply them with a fund of materials: in *them* the different kinds of evidence and argument are exemplified: from *them* only those illustrations can be taken, without which its rules and precepts would be unintelligible." * * * "In studying the particular sciences, reason will spontaneously exert itself: if the proper and natural method of reasoning is used, the mind will, by the native force of its faculties, perceive the evidence, and be convinced by it; though it does not reflect how this comes to pass, nor explicitly consider according to what general rules the understanding is exerted. By afterwards studying these rules, one will be farther fitted for prosecuting the several sciences; the knowledge of the grounds and laws of evidence will give him the security of *reflection*, against employing wrong methods of proof, and improper kinds of evidence, additional to that of instinct and *natural genius*." The consequence of this acknowledgment of the supremacy of reason and practice over argumentation and theory, was the establishment of a course of lectures on natural and civil history, previously to inculcating the corresponding sciences of natural and mental philosophy; an institution from which,—wherever the former part consists of anything better than a blundering among explosive combustibles, and a clattering among glass vessels, or the latter is anything superior to a circumstantial narrative of ancient falsehoods and modern dates,—the student derives a tissue of sound and useful information, on which the more metaphysical sciences may or may not be built, as circumstances or inclination admit. It is a striking instance of the propensity to follow with accuracy the beaten track, or to deviate only when some powerful spirit leads the way, that the system has never advanced further than

as laid down by Dr Gerard ;—according to his system, jurisprudence and politics are to be preceded by pneumatology and natural theology, and is to be mixed up “ with the perusal of some of the best ancient moralists.” Thus the studies of jurisprudence and politics, two sciences of strictly modern practical origin, are to be mixed with the dogmas of philosophers, who saw governments but in dreams, and calculated political contingencies in the abstract rules of mathematicians ; and the British student finds, that the constitutional information, for which he will, at a more advanced period of life, discover that his country is renowned, is the only science from which the academical course has carefully excluded him, and which he is left to gather in after-life by desultory reading or miscellaneous conversation and practice. The change produced by Dr Gerard was sufficiently sweeping as a first step, and the reasons for it were a sufficient victory for one mind over the stubbornness of ancient prejudice. It is to be also remembered, that those admirable constitutional works on the government and constitutional laws of England, (which have not even yet been initiated in Scotland,) and that new science by which the resources of governments, and the relative powers of different forms of constitutions are made known like the circumstances of a private individual—the work of an illustrious Scotsman—had not then appeared. It will be for some approaching age to improve this admirable plan, and to place those sciences which treat of men—in the methods by which, as divided in different clusters through the earth, they have reduced abstract principles of morals to practice—as an intermediate exercise betwixt the acquisition of mere physical facts, and the study of those sciences which embrace an abstract speculation on these facts ; keeping the mind chained as long as possible to things which exist in the world, in morals as well as in facts—the example of the tyrannical system never deviated from till the days of Bacon and Des Cartes—and of many reasonings of the present day, which it might be presumption to call absurd, showing us how naturally the mind indulges itself in erecting abstract edifices, out of proportions which are useless when they are reduced to the criterion of practice. In 1756, a prize offered by the philosophical society of Edinburgh, for the best essay on taste, was gained by Dr Gerard, and in 1759, he published this essay, the best and most popular of his philosophical works. It passed through three English editions and two French, in which language it was published by Eidous, along with three dissertations on the same subject by Voltaire, D’Alembert, and Montesquieu. This essay treats first of what the author calls taste, resolved into its simple elements, and contains a sort of analytical account of the different perceptible qualities, more or less united, to be found in any thing we admire : he then proceeds to consider the progress of the formation of taste, and ends with a discussion on the existence of a standard of taste. The author follows the system of reflex senses, propounded by Hutcheson. The system of association, upon which Mr Alison afterwards based a treatise on the same subject, is well considered by Gerard, along with many other qualifications, which he looks upon as the sources of the feeling—qualifications which other writers, whose ideas on the subject have not yet been confuted, have referred likewise to the principles of association for their *first cause*. Longinus, in his treatise on sublimity, if he has not directly maintained the original influence of association—or in other words, the connexion of the thing admired, either through cause and affect, or some other tie, with what is pleasing or good—as an origin of taste, at least in his reasonings and illustrations, gives cause to let it be perceived that he acknowledged such a principle to exist.¹ The first person, however, who laid it regularly down and argued upon it as a source of taste, appears to have been Dr Gerard, and his theory was ad-

¹ This is particularly remarkable at the commencement of the 7th section.

mitted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in as far as maintaining that beauty consists in an aptness of parts for the end to which they are assigned, may be considered an admission of the principle of association, at a period when one of an inversely opposite nature was supported by Burke and Price. To those who have followed these two, the name of Dugald Stewart has to be added; while that eminent scholar and great philosopher, Richard Payne Knight, has, amidst the various and rather ill-arranged mass of useful information and acute remark, accumulated in his inquiry into the principles of taste, well illustrated the theory propounded by Dr Gerard, and it has been finally enlarged and systematized by Dr Alison, and the author of a criticism on that work in the *Edinburgh Review*, one of the most beautiful and perfect specimens of modern composition. At the period when Dr Gerard produced this work, he was a member of a species of debating institution half way betwixt a society and a club, subject neither to the pompous state of the one, nor the excess of the other. This society is well known in Scottish literary history, as embracing among its members many of the first men of the time. More or less connected with it were the classical Blackwell, and Gregory, and Reid, the parent of that clear philosophy which has distinguished the country, and Beattie, who, though his merits have perhaps been too highly rated, was certainly fit to have been an ornament to any association of literary men. The use of literary societies has been much exaggerated; but still it cannot be denied, that wherever a spot becomes distinguished for many superior minds, there is one of these pleasing sources of activity and enjoyment to be found. That it is more the effect than the cause may be true. Such men as Gerard, Reid, and Blackwell would have been distinguished in any sphere of life; but if the principle should maintain itself in no other science, it is at least true of philosophy, that intercommunication and untechnical debate, clear and purify the ideas previously formed, and ramify them to an extent of which the thinker had never previously dreamed. It must have been grateful beyond conception to the members of this retired and unostentatious body, to have found learning and elegance gradually brightening under their influence, after a dreary and unlettered series of ages which had passed over their university and the district,—to feel that, though living apart from the grand centres of literary attraction, they had the enjoyments these could bestow beside their own retired hearths and among their own professional colleagues,—and to be conscious that they bestowed a dignity on the spot they inhabited, which a long period of commercial prosperity could never bestow, and gave a tone to the literature of their institution which should continue when they were gone. In June 1760, Dr Gerard was chosen professor of divinity in Marischal college, being at the same time presented with the living of the Grey Friars' church, in Aberdeen. During his tenure of these situations, he published his "*Dissertations on the Genius and Evidences of Christianity*," a subject which he treated with more soundness, reason, and gentlemanly spirit, than others of the same period have chosen to display. In June 1771, he resigned both these situations, and accepted the theological chair of King's college, and three years afterwards published "*An Essay on Genius*;" this production is stamped with the same strength of argument, and penetrating thought, every where to be found in the productions of the author. The heads of the subject are laid down with much philosophical correctness, and followed out with that liberal breadth of argument peculiar to those who prefer what is reasonable and true, to what supports an assumed theory. The language is not florid, and indeed does not aim at what is called elegant writing, but is admirably fitted to convey the ideas clearly and consistently, and seems more intended to be understood than to be admired. It commences with a discussion on the nature of "genius," which is

separated from the other mental powers, and particularly from "ability," with which many have confounded it. Genius is attributed in the first process of its formation to imagination, which discovers ideas, to be afterwards subjected to the arbitration of judgment; memory, and the other intellectual powers, being considered as subsidiary aids in instigating the movements of imagination. Dr Gerard afterwards presented to the world two volumes of sermons, published in 1780-82. He died on his 67th birth-day, 22d February, 1795. A sermon was preached on his funeral, and afterwards published, by his friend and pupil, Dr Skene Ogilvy of Old Aberdeen, which, along with the adulation common to such performances, enumerates many traits of character which the most undisguised flatterer could not have dared to have attributed to any but a good, able, and much esteemed man. A posthumous work, entitled "Pastoral Care," was published by Dr Gerard's son and successor in 1799.

GERARD, GILBERT, D.D., a divine, son of the foregoing, was born at Aberdeen on the 12th of August, 1760, and having acquired the earlier elements of his professional education in his native city, at a period when the eminence of several great and well known names dignified its universities, he finished it in the more extended sphere of tuition furnished by the university of Edinburgh. Before he reached the age of twenty-two, a vacancy having occurred in the ministry of the Scottish church of Amsterdam, a consideration of his father's qualifications prompted the consistory to invite the young divine to preach before them, and he was in consequence waited upon by that body, with an offer of the situation, which he accepted. During his residence in Holland, he turned the leisure allowed him by his clerical duties, and his knowledge of the Dutch language and of general science, to supporting, with the assistance of two literary friends, a periodical called "*De Recensent*." What may have been the intrinsic merits of this publication, it would be difficult to discover either through the medium of personal knowledge or general report, in a nation where modern Dutch literature is unnoticed and almost unknown; but it obtained the best suffrage of its utility in the place for which it was intended, an extensive circulation. During the same period, he likewise occupied himself in contributing to English literature; and on the establishment of the *Analytical Review* in 1788, he is understood to have conducted the department of that periodical referring to foreign literature,—a task for which his hereditary critical acuteness, his residence on the continent, and knowledge of the classical and of several modern languages, some of which were then much neglected, or had but begun to attract the attention of educated Englishmen, must have given peculiar facilities.

During his residence at Amsterdam, he received as a token of respect from his native university, the degree of doctor of divinity. Soon after this event his professional and literary pursuits experienced a check from a severe illness which compelled him to seek early in life a restorative for his weakened constitution, in breathing the air of his native country. The change of climate had the desired effect, and he returned restored in health to his duties in Holland. These he continued to perform until April, 1791, when strong family motives induced him to relinquish a situation which habit and friendship had endeared to him, and his resignation of which was followed by the regrets of those who had experienced the merits of their pastor. He soon after accepted the vacant professorship of Greek in the King's college of Aberdeen, a situation which he held for four years. Although the students of King's college are not very numerous, and the endowments connected with the institution are by no means affluent, both are very respectable, and there is every opportunity on the part of the instructor to exhibit, both to the world in general, and to his students,

those qualifications which make the man respected and esteemed. From the youth of the scholars generally committed to his care, the professor of Greek is not only the public lecturer in his department of literature, but the instructor of its elements; and he has not only to perform the more ostentatious duty of exhibiting to and laying before them the stores of his own knowledge, but to find the means by which this knowledge shall enter the mind of each individual student. The instructor meets his pupils during a considerable portion of the day, and for several months together; and a knowledge of individuals is thus acquired, which gives the benevolent and active discerner of character an opportunity of uniting the friend and the instructor towards the young man who looks to him for knowledge. The discernment of the young respecting those who have cognizance over them is proverbially acute, and it frequently happens that while the learned world has overlooked, in the midst of brilliant talents or deep learning, the absence or presence of the other more personal qualities requisite for the instruction of youth, the pupils have discovered these, and, as a consequence, have pursued or neglected their proper studies, as they have personally respected or disliked the teacher of them. It was the consequence of the learning and personal worth of Dr Gerard, that his pupils respected his personal character, and acquired, from his knowledge and his kind friendship towards them, an enthusiasm for Greek literature, which few teachers have had the good fortune to inspire, and which has very seldom made its appearance in Scotland. A course of lectures on Grecian history and antiquities, (unfortunately never given to the world,) which he delivered to his students, is still remembered by many to whom they have formed a stable foundation for more extended knowledge of the subject.

During the latter years of his father's life, he had assisted him in the performance of his duties as professor of divinity, and on his death succeeded to that situation, where he brought, to the less irksome and more intellectual duties of instilling philosophic knowledge into more advanced minds, the same spirit of friendly intercourse which had distinguished his elementary instructions. The Scottish student of divinity is frequently a person who stands in need of a protector and friend, and when he has none to trust to but the teachers of the profession, on whom all have a claim, it is very natural that it might happen that these individuals should abstain from the exercise of any little patronage on which there is an indefinite number of claimants. It is, however, worthy of remark, to the honour of the individuals who have filled these situations, that many of them have been the best friends to their students, and that although they had at that period to look to them for no professional remuneration, they considered themselves as being from the commencement of the connexion, not only the temporary instructors, but the guardians of the future conduct, and the propagators of the future fortune, of their students. Of these feelings on the part of Dr Gerard, many now dispersed in respectable ministerial situations through the country, retain an affectionate recollection. His influence, which was considerable, was used in their favour, and where he had not that to bestow, he was still a friend. In 1811, he added to his professorship the second charge of the collegiate church of Old Aberdeen, and continued to hold both situations till his death. During the intervening period, he permitted his useful leisure hours to be occupied with the fulfilment of the duties of the mastership of mortifications for King's college,—certainly rather an anomalous office for a scholar, and one which, with a salary that could have been no inducement, seems to have brought along with it the qualities of its not very auspicious name. The duties, though petty and irksome in the extreme, were performed with the same scrupulous exactness which distinguished the professor's more im-

portant pursuits; and he had in the end, from his diligent discharge of these duties, and his being able to procure, from his personal influence with the government, a grant in favour of the university, the satisfaction of rescuing it from the poverty with which it was threatened, by a decree of augmentation of the stipends of several churches, of which the college was titular. During this period of adversity, Dr Gerard had before his eyes the brighter prospect of a benefice in the Scottish metropolis, which many of his friends there attempted to prevail on him to accept; but the retired habits consequent to a studious life, the small but select circle of intimate friends in the neighbourhood of his college, to whose appearance and conversation long intercourse had endeared him, and a desire to benefit an institution he might almost call paternal, prompted him to continue his useful duties.

Dr Gilbert Gerard died on the 28th of September, 1815; and amidst the regrets of his acquaintances, the professional tribute to his memory was bestowed by the same reverend friend who preached his father's funeral sermon. His only published work is entitled "*Institutes of Biblical Criticism*," published in Edinburgh in 1808. It has received from his profession that approval which the author's merit had given cause to anticipate. It is characterized by the author of the *Biographie Universelle* as "*Un ouvrage plein d'Érudition, et composé dans un bon esprit.*"

GIB, ADAM, long distinguished as leader of the religious party called Anti-burghers, was a native of Perthshire, and born in 1713. He received his education at the university of Edinburgh. In the year 1741, he was ordained a minister of the Associated Presbytery, recently formed by Mr Ebenezer Erskine and others, as detailed in the life of that eminent individual. Mr Gib's charge was one of the most important in the kingdom—namely, the congregation which has so long met in the southern suburbs of Edinburgh, and was recently administered to by Dr Jamieson, the learned author of the *Scottish Etymological Dictionary*. It is well known, that during the progress of the rebellion of 1745-6, no body of individuals in Scotland manifested a warmer loyalty to the government than that to which Mr Gib belonged. When the insurgents were approaching Edinburgh, about three hundred of the congregation in and around the city took up arms for its defence, hired a sergeant to teach them the military exercise, and were the last to deliver up their arms to the castle, when all hope of holding out the town had been abandoned. During the six weeks occupation of the city by prince Charles, the established presbyterian clergy were, with one exception, mute, having mostly fled to the country. Mr Gib was also obliged to abandon his meeting-house; but he did not fly so far as the rest, nor resign himself to the same inactivity. He assembled his congregation at Dreghorn, about three miles from the town, and within a short distance of Collington, where the insurgents kept a guard, and not only preached the gospel as usual, but declared that he was doing so, as an open proof and testimony "that we are resolved, through the Lord's grace, to come to no terms with the enemy that has power in the city, but to look on them as enemies, showing ourselves to be none of their confederacy. In our public capacity," he continued, "it is fit that we make even a voluntary removal from the place where they are, as from the seat of robbers, showing ourselves resolved that their seat shall not be ours." Mr Gib thus discoursed on five different Sundays, "expressly preaching up an abhorrence of the rebellion then on foot, and a hope of its speedy overthrow, and every day making express mention of the reigning sovereignty in public prayer; praying for the safety of his reign, the support of his government, a blessing on his family, and the preservation of the protestant succession in that family; at the same time praying for the sup-

pression of the rebellion, expressly under the characters of an unnatural and anti-christian rebellion, headed by a *popish pretender*." What is most surprising of all, to pursue Mr Gib's own relation of the circumstances, "while I was doing so, I ordinarily had a party of the rebel guard from Collington, who understood English, standing before me on the outside of the multitude. * * * * * Though they then attended with signs of great displeasure, they were restrained from using any violence: yet, about that time, as I was passing on the road near Collington, one of them, who seemed to be in some command, fired at me; but, for any thing that appeared, it might be only with a design to fright me."

In a subsequent part of the campaign, when the Seceders re-appeared in arms along with the English army, Mr Gib seems to have accompanied them to Falkirk, where, a few hours before the battle of the 17th January, he distinguished himself by his activity in seizing a rebel spy. When the rebels in the evening took possession of Falkirk, they found that person in prison, and, being informed of what Mr Gib had done, made search for him through the town, with the intention, no doubt, of taking some measure of vengeance for his hostility.

Referring the reader to the article Ebenezer Erskine for an account of the schism which took place in 1747, in the Associated Presbytery, respecting the burgess oath, we shall only mention here that Mr Gib took a conspicuous part at the head of the more rigid party, termed Antiburghers, and continued during the rest of his life to be their ablest advocate and leader. A new meeting-house was opened by him, November 4, 1753, in Nicholson Street, in which he regularly preached for many years to about two thousand persons. His eminence in the public affairs of his sect at last obtained for him the popular epithet of *Pope Gib*, by which he is still well remembered. In 1765, when the general assembly took the subject of the Secession into consideration, as a thing that "threatened the peace of the country," Mr Gib wrote a spirited remonstrance against that injurious imputation; and, as a proof of the attachment of the Seceders to the existing laws and government, detailed all those circumstances respecting the rebellion in 1745, which we have already embodied in this notice. In 1774, Mr Gib published "A Display of the Secession Testimony," in two volumes 8vo; and in 1784, his "Sacred Contemplations," at the end of which was "An Essay on Liberty and Necessity," in answer to lord Kames's essay on that subject. Mr Gib died, June 18, 1788, in the 75th year of his age, and 48th of his ministry, and was interred in the Grey Friars' church-yard, where an elegant monument has been erected to his memory, at the expense of his grateful congregation.

GIBBS, JAMES, a celebrated architect, was born in Aberdeen, according to the most approved authority, in the year 1674, though Walpole and others place the date of his birth so late as 1683, a period which by no means accords with that of his advancement to fame in his profession. He was the only son (by his second wife)¹ of Peter Gibbs of Footdeesmire, a merchant, and, as it would appear from his designation, a proprietor or feuar of a piece of ground along the shore at the mouth of the Dee, where his house, called "the white house in the Links," remains an evidence of the respectability and comparative wealth of the family. Old Gibbs retained during the stormy period in which he lived, the religion of his ancestors, and was a staunch non-juror. An anecdote is preserved by his fellow townsmen characteristic of the man, and of the times. The conflicting religious doctrines of presbyterian and episcopalian, and of

¹ Cunningham errs in supposing that James Gibbs was the only son and only child of Peter Gibbs. There was a son William, by the first wife, who went abroad after his father's death—what became of him is not known.

course the political doctrines of whig and tory, found in Aberdeen a more equal balance than perhaps in any other part of Scotland; and history has shown, that in the event of a serious struggle, the influence of the Huntly family generally made the latter predominate; in these circumstances, it may easily be supposed that the city was a scene of perpetual petty jargon, and that pasquinades and abuse were liberally given and bitterly received. Gibbs being a Roman catholic, was the friend of neither party, and an object of peculiar antipathy to the presbyterians, who testified their sense of his importance and wickedness, by instructing the children in the neighbourhood to annoy the old gentleman in his premises, and hoot him on the streets. Gibbs, to show his respect for both parties, procured two fierce dogs for his personal protection, and engraved on the collar of the one "Luther," and on that of the other "Calvin;" the compliment was understood by neither party; and the dogs and their master being summoned before the bailies to answer for their respective misdemeanours, the former were delivered over to the proper authorities, and executed according to law, at the cross, the public place of execution.

The subject of our memoir attended the usual course of instruction at the grammar school, and was afterwards sent to Marischal college, where he accepted of the easily acquired degree of master of arts. At that period, when the Scottish colleges were partly remnants of monastic institutions, partly schools for the instruction of boys, having the indolence of the Roman catholic age strangely mingled with their own poverty and the simplicity of presbyterian government, there were but two classes of persons at the universities,—the sons of the noblemen and gentlemen, living in a style superior to the citizens, and a poorer class who were supported by the bursaries, or even common charity; the two classes wore different dresses, and of course had little communication with each other, excepting such as might exist between master and servant. To which of these classes Gibbs may have belonged is not known; that it should have been the latter is not so improbable as it may appear, as custom, the master of every thing, made it by no means degrading to those of inferior rank; while a burgess, whatever might have been his wealth, would hardly in that age have been so daring as to have forced his son upon the company of the offspring of lairds. For some time after his father's death, he was reared and educated by his uncle-in-law and aunt, Mr and Mrs Morrison, people in much the same respectable circumstances with his father; but, destitute perhaps from his religious principles, of influence sufficient to enable him to follow his father's business with success, or more probably having a natural bent for more tasteful pursuits, Gibbs, at the early age of twenty, left his native town, nor did he ever return to a spot not very congenial to the pursuit of a profession which must be studied among the remains of ancient grandeur, and practised in the midst of luxury and profusion. From 1694 to 1700 he studied architecture and the mathematics in Holland, under an architect to whom the biographers of Gibbs have given the merit of possessing reputation, while neither his own talents, nor the subsequent fame of his scholar has preserved his name from oblivion. Here the young architect made himself acquainted with the earl of Marr, then on a visit to the continent, who, according to the praiseworthy custom for which Scotsmen have received rather uncharitable commendation, of assisting their countrymen when they meet them in a foreign country, gave him recommendatory letters to influential friends, and money to enable him to pursue the study of his profession, for which it would appear the earl had a taste. After leaving Holland he spent ten years in Rome, where, according to Dallaway, he studied under P. F. Garroli, a sculptor

and architect of considerable merit; and where, like many who have afterwards issued from the great manufactory of artists, to astonish and gratify the world, he probably spent his days in labour and unnoticed retirement.

In 1710, Gibbs returned to Britain, and by the influence of the earl of Marr, then secretary of state for Scotland, in queen Anne's tory ministry, the means of exhibiting his knowledge to advantage, and gaining emolument, were amply provided. The renowned legislative measure, by which the metropolis was to be made religious by act of parliament, on the erection of fifty new churches, having been passed, the name of Gibbs was added by his generous patron to the list of those eminent architects who were to put the vast plan in execution. Previous, however, to commencing this undertaking, he completed the first of his architectural labours, the additional buildings to King's college, Cambridge. It is generally allowed that this is a production on which the architect could not have founded much of his fame.—“The diminutive Doric portico,” says Dallaway, “is certainly not a happy performance, either in the idea or the execution. Such an application of the order would not occur in a pure and classic instance.” While, on the other hand, the historian of the university of Cambridge, remarks,—“It is built of white Portland stone, beautifully carved, with a grand portico in the centre; and contains three lofty floors above the vaults. The apartments, which are twenty-four in number, are exceedingly well fitted up, and in every respect correspond with the outward appearance, which equals that of any other building in the university.”—The latter part of the sentence, in reference to the spot which contains King's college chapel and Clare hall, is sufficiently complimentary for the architect's best works. The truth appears to be, that those trammels which architects have had more reason to detest than any other class of artists, restrained the genius of Gibbs in this instance, and that being obliged to apply given form, size, and number of apartments, to given space, he had no opportunity of displaying the beauties which attend his other works. The first of “the fifty,” which Gibbs completed, was St Martin's in the Fields, a work which, with its calm tastefulness and simple grandeur, might have been honourable to the fame of the greatest architect the world ever saw. The west front of this building, surmounted by a light and neatly designed spire, is decorated with Corinthian columns, over which is a pediment, bearing the royal arms; the order is continued round the sides in pilasters, and there is a double series of windows in the inter-columniations, an unfortunate sacrifice of architectural effect to internal accommodation. The interior is divided into three unequal parts, by a range of four Corinthian columns and two pilasters on each side, standing on tall pedestals; the central space or nave being covered by a semi-elliptical ceiling, rising from the top of the entablature over each column, and is rich in moulding and ornament. The following plainly told, but judicious opinion of this building, is given by Ralph, in his “Critical Review of Public Buildings,”—“The portico is at once elegant and august, and the steeple above it ought to be considered as one of the most tolerable in town; if the steps arising from the street to the front could have been made regular, and on a line from end to end, it would have given it a very considerable grace: but, as the situation of the ground would not allow it, this is to be esteemed rather a misfortune than a fault. The round columns at each angle of the church are very well conceived, and have a very fine effect in the profile of the building: the east end is remarkably elegant, and very justly challenges particular applause. In short, if there is anything wanting in this fabric, it is a little more elevation, which I presume is apparently wanted within, and would create an additional beauty without.”—“All the parts,” says Allan Cunningham, “are nicely distributed,

and nothing can be added, and nothing can be taken away. It is complete in itself; and refuses the admission of all other ornament." Much discussion seems to have been wasted on the portico of St Martin's, some insisting that it is a mere model of the portico of the Pantheon, or some other production of classic art; others maintaining its equality in merit and design to the best specimens of Grecian architecture. A portico, to bear the name, must have basements, pillars, capitals, and an entablature, just as a house must have a roof and windows, and a bridge arches; so that all originality can possibly achieve in such a work, is the harmony of the proportions and ornaments with each other, and with the rest of the building; it is in having made the proportions and ornaments different from those of the Pantheon, and adapted them to a totally different building, that Gibbs has been original, and it is on the pleasure which the whole combination affords to the eye, that his merit depends; a merit, however, which cannot come in competition with that of the *inventor* of the portico. The next church of the fifty, undertaken by Gibbs, was St Mary's in the Strand, a work on which, if we may judge from its appearance, he bestowed more labour with less effect. Instead of appearing like the effort of a single grand conception, forming a complete and harmonizing whole, it is like a number of efforts clustered together. Instead of being one design, the interstices in which are filled up by details, it is a number of details united together; in gazing on which, the mind, instead of absorbing the grandeur of the whole at one view, wanders from part to part, finding no common connexion by which the joint effect of all may be summoned before it at once.

Gibbs had just prepared the plans of the buildings we have described, and was in the high and palmy state of his fortunes, when his kind patron, having had his overtures to procure the allegiance of the Highland clans contumeliously rejected, and having been disgusted and thrown in fear by the impeachment of Oxford and Stafford, and the exile of Ormond and Bolingbroke, resolved to avenge his personal wrongs, by a recourse to the feudal fiction of the divine origin of hereditary right, to maintain the theoretic purity of which, a nation contented with its king was plunged in civil war, that the king they ought not to have been contented without, should be restored. Family ruin followed the rebellion of the earl; but the architect, fortified by the practice of a profession, the principles of which politics could not sway, and possessing knowledge which, unlike the art of governing, could not be deprived of its efficacy by the influence of the party in power, remained unmolested on the step to which he had advanced, and looked forward to the prospect of other honours.

The most magnificent, though perhaps not the purest of Gibbs's works, is the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, on the completion of which, he received the degree of master of arts from that university. The Radcliffe Library is of a circular form, rising in the centre of an oblong square of 370 feet by 110, with a cupola 140 feet high and 100 feet in diameter. The lofty dome of this building raises itself in the centre of almost every prospect of Oxford, and gives a characteristic richness to the landscape. "The Radcliffe dome," says Allan Cunningham, "in fact conveys to every distant observer the idea of its being the air-hung crown of some gigantic cathedral or theatre. It is, perhaps, the grandest feature in the grandest of all English architectural landscapes; it rises wide and vast amid a thousand other fine buildings, interrupts the horizontal line, and materially increases the picturesque effect of Oxford;" on a nearer and more critical view, however, the spectator is disappointed to find that a want of proportion betwixt the cupola and the rest of the building, slight, but still very perceptible, deadens the effect of the magnificent whole, a mistake on the part of the architect, which has frequently turned the whole mass of taste

and beauty, into an object of ridicule to the bitter critic. It may be in general questioned how far such a building, however much its swelling magnificence may serve to add dignity to a vast prospect without, or solemnity to an important pageant within, is suited for the more retired purposes of a library. The student seldom wishes to have his attention obstructed by the intrusion of a wide prospect in his attention, whenever he raises his eyes; and perhaps when extent and grandeur are desired, a more suitable method of accommodating them with comfortable retirement may be found in a corridor or gallery, where any one, if he is anxious, may indulge himself by standing at one end, and luxuriate in the perspective of the whole length, while he who wishes to study uninterrupted may retire into a niche, whence his view is bounded by the opposite side of the narrow gallery. In the completion of the quadrangle of All Souls, Gibbs had the great good fortune to receive a growl of uncharitable praise from Walpole. "Gibbs," says the imperious critic, "though he knew little of Gothic architecture, was fortunate in the quadrangle of All Souls, which he has blundered into a picturesque scenery not void of grandeur, especially if seen through the gate that leads from the schools. The assemblage of buildings in that quarter, though no single one is beautiful, always struck me with singular pleasure, as it conveys such a vision of large edifices unbroken by private houses, as the mind is apt to entertain of renowned cities that exist no longer." Such is the opinion of one, whose taste in Gothic architecture, as represented by the straggling corridors, and grotesque and toyish mouldings of Strawberry Hill, would not, if curiosity thought it of sufficient importance to be inquired into, bear the test of a very scrutinizing posterity. A comparison of his various opinions of the different works of Gibbs are among the most amusing specimens of the construction of the noble critic's mind. Where the architect has been tasteful and correct, he only shows that mere mechanical knowledge may avoid faults, without furnishing beauties, "and where he has been picturesque and not void of grandeur, the whole is the effect of chance and blunder." Among the other works of Gibbs are the monument of Holles, duke of Newcastle, in Westminster Abbey, the senate house at Cambridge, a very favourable specimen of his correct and tasteful mind, and some buildings in the palace of Stowe. The west church of St Nicholas in his native city, a very fine specimen, if we may believe the accounts of contemporaries, of Gothic taste, having fallen nearly to ruin, Gibbs presented the magistrates with a plan for a church that might reinstate it. In this production we look in vain for the mind which imagined the lofty pomp of the Radcliffe, or the eye that traced the chaste proportions of St Martin's; and one might be inclined to question with what feelings the great architect made his donation. The outside is of no description of architecture under the sun "in particular;" it just consists of heavy freestone walls, with a roof, and plain Roman arched windows. The inside is a degree worse. Heavy groined arches, supported on heavier square pillars, overtop the gallery. There is in every corner all the gloom of the darkest Gothic, with square corners instead of florid mouldings, and square beams instead of clustered pillars; while the great arched windows of the Gothic piles, which send a broken and beautiful light into their farthest recesses, are specially avoided, a preference being given to wooden square glazed sashes, resembling those of a shop—in the whole, the building is one singularly repulsive to a correct taste.

Gibbs, in 1728, published a folio volume of designs, which have acquired more fame for the knowledge than for the genius displayed in them. By this work he gained the very considerable sum of £1900. Besides a set of plans of the Radcliffe Library, this forms his only published work: his other papers and manuscripts, along with his library, consisting of about 500 volumes,

he left as a donation to the Radcliffe Library. After five years of suffering from a lingering and painful complaint, this able, persevering, and upright man died in London, in 1754, having continued in the faith of his ancestors, and unmarried. He made several bequests, some to public charities, others to individuals, one of which in particular must not be passed over. Remembering the benefactor who had assisted him in the days of his labour and adversity, he left £1000, the whole of his plate, and an estate of £280 a year to the only son of the earl of Marr; an uncommon act of gratitude, which, however party feeling may regret the circumstances which caused it, will in the minds of good and generous men, exceed in merit all that the intellect of the artist ever achieved.

GIBSON, (SIR) ALEXANDER, lord Durie, an eminent lawyer and judge, was the son of George Gibson of Goldingstones, one of the clerks of session. The period of his birth we have been unable to discover; but as we find him admitted a clerk of session in 1594, we may conclude that he was born considerably more than twenty years previous to that period. It appears that the appointment of Gibson to this duty created a new clerkship, and as the addition in number would reduce the arbitrary sources of emolument of the other two clerks, it was naturally apprehended that the interloper would be received with the usual jealousy of those whose interests are unduly interfered with. King James the sixth, who had generally some deep and mysteriously wise purpose in all he did, chose to be personally present at the appointment of his nominee, in order that the royal choice might meet with no marks of contempt. The mindful sovereign was on this occasion pleased to be so highly delighted with the disinterested conduct of his obedient clerks, who had so willingly received a partner "at his Highness's wish and special desire," that he promised in presence of the court, to remunerate them with "ane sufficient casualty for said consents." The chamber in the Register house instituted by this appointment still retains the denomination of "Durie's Office." At that period the duties of a principal clerk of session were of a more politically important nature than they have been since the union: these officers had to register the decrees and acts of parliament, in addition to their present duties. The only remnant of their former occupations, is their acting as clerks at the elections of the Scottish representative peers. Gibson continued in his clerkship for all the remainder of his life, notwithstanding the higher offices to which he was afterwards promoted. In 1621, he was appointed a lord of session, and as the duties of judge and clerk were rather anomalous, we find by the books of sederunt, that the prudent clerk had procured in the previous month his son to be engrafted in the office. Mr Alexander Gibson, junior, being appointed conjunct clerk with Mr Alexander Gibson, senior, during the life of the longest liver, the senior it may be presumed continuing to draw the salary, without being much troubled with the duties. Seven years after his appointment to the bench, we find him accepting a baronetcy of Nova Scotia, with a grant of some few square miles of land in that district. In 1633, he was appointed a member of one of the committees for the revision of the laws and customs of the country. In 1640, he appears to have been elected a member of the committee of estates, and his appointment as judge was continued under a new commission to the court in 1641. From the period of his elevation to the bench in 1621, till the year 1642, this laborious lawyer preserved notes of such decisions of the court as he considered worthy of being recorded as precedents, a task for which a previously extensive practice had fitted him. These were published by his son in one volume folio, in 1688, and are valuable as the earliest digested collection of decisions in Scottish law. Their chief peculiarities are their brevity, and, what would not

appear at first sight a natural consequence, their obscurity. But Gibson produced by a too niggardly supply, the effect which is frequently attributed to a too great multitude of words. He appears, however, to have always known his own meaning; and when, with a little consideration, his *ratio nesdecidendi* are discovered, they are found to be soundly stated. The clamours which other judges of the day caused to be raised against their dishonesty and cupidity, were not applied to Durie. He seems, indeed, as far as the habits of the times could allow the virtue to exist, except in an absolutely pure being, to have been a just and fearless judge, for in a period of general legal rapine and pusillanimity, the possession of a very moderate share of honesty and firmness in the judgment seat, made their proprietor worthy of a nation's honour. If the affirmation of a professional brother may be credited, Durie possessed, according to the opinion of Forbes, a later collector of decisions, most of the intellectual and moral qualities which can dignify the bench. It is a proof of the respect in which his brethren held him, that while the office continued elective in the senators of the college, he was repeatedly chosen as president. At that period, the legal practice of Scotland appeared to have improved for the mere purpose of substituting sophism and injustice under form, for rude equity; it was a handle to be made use of, rather than a rule to be applied. The crown had recourse to legal fictions, and unjust and arbitrary presumptions, in its dealings with the subject. The subject, instead of calling for a recourse to constitutional principles, sometimes rose against the administration of the law, just or unjust. With private parties, the more powerful got the command of the law, and used it against the weaker. A striking instance of contempt towards the laws, which took place during one of the presidencies of Gibson of Durie is mentioned in Douglas's Baronage, and Forbes's Journal, and is more fully and pleasingly narrated in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. The earl of Traquair had an action depending in court, in which it was understood the president would, by his influence, cause the court to give judgment against him. A border freebooter, or gentleman thief, known by the name of Christie's Will, owed to the peer some gratitude and allegiance, having gained his protection by an insolent jest on the subject of his having been imprisoned for theft. This person being a gentleman both by descent and education, insinuated himself into the president's company during his usual morning ride on the sands of Leith. On the two reaching a very lonely spot, the judge was snatched from his horse, rolled into a blanket, and carried off he knew not where. He was imprisoned three months, during which time his friends and himself considered that he was in fairy-land. The case was decided in favour of Traquair, and a new president appointed, when the judge one morning found himself laid down in the exact spot from which he had been so suddenly carried off, and returned to claim his privileges. This useful man died at his house of Durie on the 10th of June, 1644. He left behind him a son of his own name, who was active among the other persons of high rank, who came forward to protect their national church from the imposition of a foreign liturgy. He is known as having boldly resisted one of king Charles the first's prerogations, by refusing the performance of the duty of clerk of parliament, already alluded to. He appears, however, not to have always given satisfaction to the cause he had so well espoused, as he is more than once mentioned in Lamont's Diary as a malignant. He was raised to the bench in 1646. Besides this son, the wealth of the father allowed him to provide a junior branch of the family with the estate of Adistone in Lothian.

GIBSON, PATRICK, an eminent artist and writer upon art, was born at Edinburgh, in December, 1782. He was the son of respectable parents, who gave

him an excellent classical education, partly at the High School, and partly at a private academy. In his school-boy days, he manifested a decided taste for literature, accompanied by a talent for drawing figures, which induced his father to place him as an apprentice under Mr Nasmyth, the distinguished landscape-painter; who has been, in this manner, the means of bringing forward many men of genius in the arts. Contemporary with Mr Gibson, as a student in this school, was Mr Nasmyth's son Peter; and it is painful to think, that both of these ingenious pupils have gone down to the grave before their master. Mr Nasmyth's academy was one in no ordinary degree advantageous to his apprentices: such talents as they possessed were generally brought into speedy use in painting and copying landscapes, which he himself finished and sold; and thus they received encouragement from seeing works, of which a part of the merit was their own, brought rapidly into the notice of the world. About the same time, Mr Gibson attended the trustees' academy, then taught with distinguished success by Mr Graham. While advancing in the practical part of his profession, Mr Gibson, from his taste for general study, paid a greater share of attention to the branches of knowledge connected with it, than the most of artists have it in their power to bestow. He studied the mathematics with particular care, and attained an acquaintance with perspective, and with the theory of art in general, which was in his own lifetime quite unexampled in Scottish—perhaps in British—art. Mr Gibson, indeed, might rather be described as a man of high literary and scientific accomplishments, pursuing art as a profession, than as an artist, in the sense in which that term is generally understood. In landscape painting, he showed a decided preference for the classical style of Domenichino and Nicholas Poussin; and having studied architectural drawing with much care, he became remarkably happy in the views of temples and other classical buildings, which he introduced into his works. When still a very young man, Mr Gibson went to London, and studied the best works of art to be found in that metropolis,—the state of the continent at that time preventing him from pursuing his investigations any further.

Mr Gibson painted many landscapes, which have found their way into the collections of the most respectable amateurs in his native country. His own exquisitely delicate and fastidious taste, perhaps prevented him from attaining full success at first, but he was continually improving; and, great as the triumphs of his pencil ultimately were, it is not too much to say, that, if life had been spared to him, he must have reached still higher degrees of perfection.

Mr Gibson's professional taste and skill, along with his well known literary habits, pointed him out as a proper individual to write, not only criticisms upon the works of modern art brought under public notice, but articles upon the fundamental principles of the fine arts, in works embracing miscellaneous knowledge. He contributed to the *Encyclopædia Edinensis*, an elaborate article under the head "Design," embracing the history, theory, and practice of painting, sculpture, and engraving, and concluding with an admirable treatise on his favourite subject, "Linear Perspective." This article extends to one hundred and six pages of quarto, in double columns, and is illustrated by various drawings. It is, perhaps, the best treatise on the various subjects which it embraces, ever contributed to an encyclopædia. To Dr Brewster's more extensive work, entitled the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, Mr Gibson contributed the articles, Drawing, Engraving, and Miniature-painting, all of which attracted notice, for the full and accurate knowledge upon which they appeared to be based. In the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1816, published in 1820, being edited by Mr J. G. Lockhart, was an article by Mr Gibson, entitled "A View of the Progress and Present State of the Art of Design in Britain." It is written with much

discrimination and judgment, and is certainly worthy of being transferred into some more extended sphere of publication than the local work in which it appeared. An article of a similar kind, but confined to the progress of the Fine Arts in Scotland, appeared in the *New Edinburgh Review*, edited by Dr Richard Poole. In 1818, Mr Gibson published a thin quarto volume, entitled "Etchings of Select Views in Edinburgh, with letter-press descriptions." The subjects chiefly selected were either street scenes about to be altered by the removal of old buildings, or parts opened up temporarily by the progress of improvements, and which therefore could never again be observable in the point of view chosen by the artist. The most remarkable critical effort of Mr Gibson was an anonymous *jeu d'esprit*, published in 1822, in reference to the exhibition of the works of living artists then open, under the care of the Royal Institution for the encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland. It assumed the form of a report, by a society of Cognoscenti, upon these works of art, and treated the merits of the Scottish painters, Mr Gibson himself included, with great candour and impartiality. The style of this pamphlet, though in no case unjustly severe, was so different from the indulgent remarks of periodical writers, whose names are generally known, and whose acquaintance with the artists too often forbids rigid truth, that it occasioned a high degree of indignation among the author's brethren, and induced them to take some steps that only tended to expose themselves to ridicule. Suspecting that the traitor was a member of their own body, they commenced the subscription of a paper, disclaiming the authorship, and this being carried to many different artists for their adherence, was refused by no one till it came to Mr Gibson, who excused himself upon general principles from subscribing such a paper, and dismissed the intruders with a protest against his being supposed on that account to be the author. The real cause which moved Mr Gibson to put forth this half-jesting half-earnest criticism upon his brethren, was an ungenerous attack upon his own works, which had appeared in a newspaper the previous year, and which, though he did not pretend to trace it to the hand of any of his fellow labourers, was enjoyed, as he thought, in too malicious a manner by some, to whom he had formerly shown much kindness. He retained his secret, and enjoyed his joke, to the last, and it is only here that his concern in the pamphlet is for the first time disclosed.

In 1826, he gave to the world, "A Letter to the directors and managers of the Institution for the encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland." Towards the close of his life he had composed, with extraordinary care, a short and practical work on perspective, which was put to press, but kept back on account of his decease. It is to be hoped that a work composed on a most useful subject, by one so peculiarly qualified to handle it, will not be lost to the world.

In June, 1818, Mr Gibson was married to Miss Isabella M. Scott, daughter of his esteemed friend Mr William Scott, the well-known writer upon elocution. By this lady he had three daughters and a son, the last of whom died in infancy. In April, 1824, he removed from Edinburgh, where he had spent the most of his life, to Dollar, having accepted the situation of professor of painting in the academy founded at that village. In this scene, quite unsuited to his mind, he spent the last five years of his life, of which three were embittered in no ordinary degree by ill health. After enduring with manly and unshrinking fortitude the pains of an uncommonly severe malady, he expired, August 26, 1829, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

Mr Gibson was not more distinguished in public by his information, taste, and professional success, than he was in private by his upright conduct, his mild and affectionate disposition, and his righteous fulfilment of every moral

duty. He possessed great talents in conversation, and could suit himself in such a manner to every kind of company, that old and young, cheerful and grave, were alike pleased. He had an immenso fund of humour; and what gave it perhaps its best charm, was the apparently unintentional manner in which he gave it vent, and the fixed serenity of countenance which he was able to preserve, while all were laughing around him. There are few men in whom the elements of genius are so admirably blended with those of true goodness, and all that can render a man beloved, as they were in Patrick Gibson.

GILLESPIE, GEORGE, an eminent divine at a time when divines were nearly the most eminent class of individuals in Scotland, was the son of the Rev. John Gillespie, minister at Kirkaldy, and was born January 21, 1613. His advance in his studies was so rapid, that he was laureated in his seventeenth year. About the year 1634, when he must have still been very young, he is known to have been chaplain to viscount Kenmure: at a subsequent period, he lived in the same capacity with the earl of Cassils. While in the latter situation, he wrote a work called "English Popish Ceremonies," in which, as the title implies, he endeavoured to excite a jealousy of the episcopal innovations of Charles I., as tending to popery. This book he published when he was about twenty-two years of age, and it was soon after prohibited by the bishops. Had episcopacy continued triumphant, it is likely that Mr Gillespie's advance in the church would have been retarded; but the signing of the national covenant early in 1638, brought about a different state of things. In April that year, a vacancy occurring at Wemyss in Fife, he was appointed minister, and at the general assembly which took place at Glasgow in the ensuing November, he had the honour to preach one of the daily sermons before the house, for which he took as his text, "'The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord.'" The earl of Argyle, who had then just joined the covenanting cause, and was still a member of the privy council, thought that the preacher had trenched a little, in this discourse, upon the royal prerogative, and said a few words to the assembly, with the intention of warning them against such errors for the future.

In 1641, an attempt was made to obtain the transportation of Mr Gillespie to Aberdeen; but the general assembly, in compliance with his own wishes, ordained him to remain at Wemyss. When the king visited Scotland in the autumn of this year, Mr Gillespie preached before him in the Abbey church at Edinburgh, on the afternoon of Sunday the 12th of September. In the succeeding year, he was removed by the General Assembly to Edinburgh, of which he continued to be one of the stated clergymen till his death. Mr Gillespie had the honour to be one of the four ministers deputed by the Scottish church in 1543, to attend the Westminster assembly of divines; and it is generally conceded, that his learning, zeal, and judgment were of the greatest service in carrying through the work of that venerable body, particularly in forming the directory of worship, the catechisms, and other important articles of religion, which it was the business of the assembly to prepare and sanction. Baillie thus alludes to him in his letters: "We got good help in our assembly debates, of lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner, but of none more than the noble youth Mr Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first in the assembly." It appears that Mr Gillespie composed six volumes of manuscript during the course of his attendance at the Westminster assembly; and these were extant in 1707,¹ though we are not aware of their still continuing in existence. He had also, when in England, prepared his sermons for the press,—part being controversial, and part practical; but they are said to have been suppressed in the hands of the

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, (MS. Adv. Lib.) i. 329.

printer, with whom he left them, through the instrumentality of the Independents, who dreaded their publication. He also wrote a piece against toleration, entitled "Wholesome Severity reconciled with Christian Liberty."

In 1648, Mr Gillespie had the honour to be moderator of the general assembly; and the last of his compositions was the Commission of the Kirk's Answer to the Estates' Observations on the Declaration of the General Assembly concerning the unlawfulness of the engagement. For some months before this assembly, he had been greatly reduced in body by a cough and perspiration, which now at length came to a height, and threatened very fatal consequences. Thinking, perhaps, that his native air would be of service, he went to Kirkcaldy with his wife, and lived there for some months; but his illness nevertheless advanced so fast, that, early in December, his friends despaired of his life, and despatched letters to his brother, to Mr Samuel Rutherford, the marquis of Argyll, and other distinguished individuals, who took an interest in him, mentioning that if they wished to see him in life, speed would be necessary. The remainder of his life may be best related in the words of Wodrow, as taken in 1707, from the mouth of Mr Patrick Simpson, who was cousin to Mr Gillespie, and had witnessed the whole scene of his death-bed:

"Monday, December 11, came my lord Argyll, Cassils, Elcho, and Warriston, to visit him. He did faithfully declare his mind to them as public men, in that point whereof he hath left a testimony to the view of the world, as afterwards; and though speaking was very burdensome to him, and troublesome, yet he spared not very freely to fasten their duty upon them.

"The exercise of his mind at the time of his sickness was very sad and constant, without comfortable manifestations, and sensible presence for the time; yet he continued in a constant faith of adherence, which ended in an adhering assurance, his gripps growing still the stronger.

"One day, a fortnight before his death, he had leaned down on a little bed, and taken a fit of faintness, and his mind being heavily exercised, and lifting up his eyes, this expression fell with great weight from his mouth, 'O! my dear Lord, forsake me not for ever.' His weariness of this life was very great, and his longing to be relieved, and to be where the veil would be taken away.

"December 14, he was in heavy sickness, and three pastors came in the afternoon to visit him, of whom one said to him, 'The Lord hath made you faithful in all he hath employed you in, and it's likely we be put to the trial; therefore what encouragement do you give us thereanent?' Whereto he answered, in few words, 'I have gotten more by the Lord's immediate assistance than by study, in the disputes I had in the assembly of divines in England; therefore, let never men distrust God for assistance, that cast themselves on him, and follow his calling. For my part, the time I have had in the exercise of the ministry is but a moment!' To which sentence another pastor answered, 'But your moment hath exceeded the gray heads of others; this I may speak without flattery.' To which he answered, disclaiming it with a no; for he desired still to have Christ exalted, as he said at the same time, and to another; and at other times, when any such thing was spoken to him, 'What are all my righteousnesses but rotten rags? all that I have done cannot abide the touchstone of His justice; they are all but abominations, and as an unclean thing, when they are reckoned between God and me. Christ is all things, and I am nothing.' The other pastor, when the rest were out, asked whether he was enjoying the comforts of God's presence, or if they were for a time suspended. He answered, 'Indeed, they are suspended.' Then within a little while he said, 'Comforts! ay comforts!' meaning that they were not easily attained. His wife said, 'What-

reck? the comfort of believing is not suspended.' He said, 'Noe.' Speaking further to his condition, he said, 'Although that I should never more see any light of comfort, that I do see, yet I shall adhere, and do believe that He is mine and that I am His.' "

Mr Gillespie lingered two days longer, and expired almost imperceptibly, December 16, 1646. On the preceding day he had written and signed a paper, in which "he gave faithful and clear testimony to the work and cause of God, and against the enemies thereof, to stop the mouths of calumniators, and confirm his children." The object of the paper was to prevent, if possible, any union of the friends of the church of Scotland with the loyalists, in behalf of an uncovenanted monarch. The Committee of Estates testified the public gratitude to Mr Gillespie by voting his widow and children a thousand pounds, which, however, from the speedily ensuing troubles of the times, was never paid.

GILLESPIE, REV. THOMAS, was the first relief minister, and founder of the Synod of Relief. He was born, A. D. 1708, at Clearburn, in the parish of Duddingstone near Edinburgh, of parents distinguished for their piety. He lost his father, who was a farmer and brewer, when he was very young. His mother, who seems to have been a woman of decided piety, and at the same time of active business habits, continued her husband's business as farmer and brewer after his death. Gillespie, who was of delicate constitution and melancholy temperament, seems throughout life, to have been marked by the shyness of disposition, the reserved manners, the fondness for retirement, and the tenderness, yet conscientiousness of feeling, which usually distinguish the boy brought up in a retired domestic way, under a fond and widowed mother. His mother was accustomed to attend the services, at the dispensation of the Lord's supper, by Mr Wilson of Maxton, Mr Boston of Ettrick, Mr Davidson of Galashiels, and other eminent evangelical ministers, with whom the south of Scotland was at that time favoured. On these occasions she commonly took with her, her son Thomas, in whom the anxious mother had not yet traced those satisfactory evidences of decisive piety which her maternal regard for his best interests so earnestly desired; on one of these occasions she mentioned her distress on account of her son to Mr Boston, who, at her request, spoke to him in private on his eternal interests. His counsels made a decisive impression upon the mind of Gillespie, at that time a young man about twenty years of age, and led him soon after to commence his studies, as preparatory to the ministry, which he prosecuted at the university of Edinburgh.

After the origin of the Secession, his mother became attached to that body; and through her advice and influence, Gillespie went to Perth to study under Mr Wilson, their first theological professor. In this step he seems to have been influenced more by a desire to comply with the wishes of a fond and pious mother, than by personal attachment to the peculiarities of the Secession. His whole stay at Perth was ten days; for as soon as from conversations with Mr Wilson, he fully comprehended the principles on which the Secession were proceeding, he withdrew. He proceeded to England, where he pursued his studies at the Theological Academy in Northampton, at that time superintended by the celebrated Dr Philip Doddridge. When he thus went to England, Dr Erskine states (in his preface to his *Essay on Temptations*;) that he had attended the humanity, philosophy, and divinity classes in the college of Edinburgh, and that he carried with him attestations of his personal piety, and acquirements in philosophical and theological literature, from several ministers of the church of Scotland: viz. Rev. Messrs Davidson of Galashiels, Wilson of Maxton, Wardlaw of Dunfermline, Smith or Newburn, Guthart, Webster, and Hepburn, of Edinburgh, James Walker of Canongate, M'Vicar of West Kirk, Kid of Queensferry, Bonnar of Torphichen,

and Wardrope of Whitburn—all of whom mention their having been intimately acquainted with him.

After the usual trials, he was licensed to preach the gospel, 30th October, 1740, by a respectable class of English dissenters, among whom Dr Doddridge presided as Moderator, and ordained to the work of the ministry, 22d Jan. 1741. It is said that his first charge was over a dissenting congregation in the north of England. If so, it must have been for a very short time, for in March following he returned to Scotland, bringing with him warm and ample recommendations from Dr Doddridge, Mr Job Orton, and thirteen other ministers in that neighbourhood, "as a deeply experienced Christian, well qualified for the important work of the ministry, and one who bade fair to prove an ornament to his holy profession, and an instrument of considerable usefulness to the souls of men."

Soon after his return to Scotland he got a regular call to the parish of Carnock near Dunfermline, to which he was presented by Mr Erskine of Carnock. At that time, the forms of procedure in the church of Scotland seem to have been not so strict, and unaccommodating to circumstances, as they are now; for in inducting him into Carnock, the presbytery of Dunfermline proceeded on his deed of license and ordination by the English dissenters as valid, and dealt by him as one who had already held a charge. At his admission into Carnock, he showed the influence which his theological education at Northampton, and his intercourse with the English dissenters had exerted upon his opinions as to christian liberty, by objecting to the doctrine of the Confession of Faith respecting the power of the civil magistrate in religion; he was permitted to subscribe with an explanation of his meaning upon this point. The passages of the Confession to which he objected, were the 4th section of the 20th chapter, and the 3d section of the 23d chapter; which declare that those may be proceeded against by the power of the civil magistrate, who publish such opinions, or maintain such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, the known principles of Christianity, or the power of godliness, or which are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church; and that the civil magistrate, hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline, be prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed, for the better effecting of which, he hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.

Mr Gillespie laboured as parish minister of Carnock till the year 1752. He was a careful student, a diligent and faithful minister, and generally acceptable and useful in his pulpit labours, both in his own parish, and as an occasional assistant elsewhere. The acceptance which his pulpit discourses met, was not owing to any advantage of manner, for his delivery was uncouth, and his whole manner that of one nervously afraid of his audience. But he was solemn and affectionate, much impressed himself, as conscious of his awful charge. He had struggled hard himself against the oppression of a constitutional tendency to despondency; and in his discourses he sought especially to comfort and counsel the desponding and tempted Christian. Dr John Erskine, who was several months his stated hearer, and who besides this often heard him occasionally, bears witness in his preface to Mr Gillespie's Essay on the continuance of immediate revelations in the church, that "he studied in his ministry what was most needful for the bulk of his hearers, giving law and gospel, comfort and terror, privileges and duties, their proper place. I never (says he) sat under a minis-

try better calculated to awaken the thoughtless and secure, to caution convinced sinners against what would stifle their convictions, and prevent their issuing in conversion, and to point out the difference between vital Christianity, and specious counterfeit appearances of it."

During the eleven years that Mr Gillespie occupied the charge of Carnock, he kept close to the humble and unostentatious yet useful duties of the pastor of a country parish. He seems never to have taken any prominent part in the business of the church courts; he was, both from habit and disposition, retiring and reserved, fond of the studies of the closet, but destitute alike of the ability and the inclination for managing public affairs, and leading the van in ecclesiastical warfare. It was his scrupulous conscientiousness, not his ambition, that made him the founder of a party. He was thrust on it by circumstances beyond his intention.

Mr Gillespie entered the ministry in the Church of Scotland, when the harsh operation of the law of patronage, was causing painful and lamentable contests between the people and the dominant party in the church courts. It had already caused the Secession; and there still remained in the church of Scotland many elements of discord and sources of heart-burning; whole presbyteries even refused to act, when the settlement of obnoxious presentees was enjoined by the superior courts;—and to effect the execution of their sentences appointing the settlement of unpopular individuals, the general assembly, had at times wholly to supersede the functions of the presbytery, and appoint the induction to be completed by committees of individuals not connected with the presbytery; it might be men who, without scruple, were willing to act on whatever was ecclesiastical law, and carry through the matter intrusted to their care, in the face of the menaces or murmurs of a dissatisfied and protesting people.

This method of settling obnoxious presentees by *riding committees*, as they were called in those days by the populace, was confessedly a most irregular and unconstitutional device. It was a clumsy expedient to avoid coming in direct collision with recusant presbyteries. It was found to answer the purpose very imperfectly; and it was soon seen, that there remained to the General Assembly but two alternatives, either to soften the operation of the law of patronage, and give way to the popular voice, or to compel the presbyteries to settle every man who received a presentation, against whom heresy or immorality could not be proved; otherwise there would be perpetual collision between themselves and the inferior courts. The assembly chose the latter and the bolder alternative. In 1750, accordingly, the assembly referred it to their Commission, "to consider of a method for securing the execution of the sentences of the Assembly and Commission, and empowered them to censure any presbyteries which might be disobedient to any of the sentences pronounced by that meeting of Assembly."

In 1751 Mr Andrew Richardson, previously settled at Broughton, in the parish of Biggar, was presented to the charge of Inverkeithing, by the patron of the parish. He was unacceptable to the body of the people, and his call was signed only by a few non-resident heritors. Opposition being made to his settlement by the parishioners, the presbytery of Dunfermline, and after them the synod of Fife, refused to comply with the orders of the commission to proceed to the settlement of Mr Richardson. The case came before the assembly in 1752; and it was justly anticipated that it would bring to an issue, the conflict between recusant presbyteries, who had a conscientious regard for the rights of the people, and the dominant party in the assembly, who had no regard for them, but were resolved to give effect to every presentation. The lord commissioner, the earl of Leven, in his opening speech, with sufficient plainness indicated the course of procedure which the government desired and expected the assembly should pur-

sue, in the circumstances; and said that it was more than high time to put a stop to the growing evil of inferior courts assuming the liberty of disputing and disobeying their decisions. The ruling party in the assembly were prompt in obeying these orders of the lord commissioner. They acted with more energy than prudence or tenderness. When the Inverkeithing case came to be considered, the assembly sent the presbytery from their bar to Inverkeithing with orders to complete Mr Richardson's induction: they enjoined every member of presbytery to be present at the admission: they changed the legal quorum from three to five. These orders were issued by the assembly on Monday; the induction was appointed to take place on Thursday, and the members of the presbytery were all commanded to appear at the bar of the assembly, on Friday, to report their fulfilment of these orders.

On Friday when the members of the Dunfermline presbytery were called upon, it appeared that only three had attended at Inverkeithing, and they not being the number required by the decision of the assembly to constitute a presbytery, did not feel themselves authorized to proceed to the admission. Of the other six, Mr Gillespie and other five pleaded conscientious scruples, and gave in a paper in defence of their conduct, quoting in their justification, the language of the assembly itself, who in 1736 had declared, that "it is, and has been ever since the Reformation, the principle of the church, that no minister shall be introduced into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation; and therefore it is seriously recommended to all judicatories of the church, to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God, and the edification of the body of Christ."

The assembly paid small regard to their own former declarations thus brought under their notice. They felt, indeed, that it would be rather *trenchant* and severe, by one fell swoop to depose six ministers all equally guilty: they resolved, however, by a majority, to depose one of the six. This was intimated to them with orders to attend on the morrow. Next day Mr Gillespie gave in a paper, justifying a statement made in their joint representation, that the assembly had themselves stigmatized the act of 1712, restoring patronages, as an infraction of the settlement made at the union. The proof of this statement, which had been questioned in the previous day's debate, he proved by quotations from the assembly's act of 1736, made at the time when they wished to lure back and reconcile the four seceding brethren—the founders of the Secession.

After prayer to God for direction—which, in the circumstances of the case, and in the predetermined state of mind in which the ruling party in the assembly were, was a profane mockery of heaven,—they proceeded to decide which of the six should be deposed. A great majority of the assembly (a hundred and two) declined voting; fifty-two voted that Mr Gillespie should be deposed, and four that some one of the others should be taken. The moderator then pronounced the sentence of deposition on Mr Gillespie. He stood at the bar to receive it, and when he had heard it to an end, with the meek dignity of conscious innocence, replied, "Moderator, I receive this sentence of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, with reverence and awe on account of the divine conduct in it. But I rejoice that it is given to me on the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but to suffer for his sake."

This hard measure dealt to him, excited general commiseration and sympathy even among the ministers of the church. He was humble and unassuming, a quiet, retired student, not one versant in the warfare of church courts. Sir H. Moncrieff, in his *Life of Dr Erskine*, testifies, that he was one of the most inoffensive and upright men of his time. equally zealous and faithful in his pas-

toral duties, but one who never entered deeply into ecclesiastical business, and who was at no time a political intriguer. His sole crime was, that from a conscientious feeling, he would not be present or take any active part in a violent settlement, and they must be strangely fond of stretches of ecclesiastical power, who will pronounce the deposition of such a man in such circumstances, either praiseworthy or wise.

The sentence of deposition was pronounced on Saturday. On Sabbath, the day following, he preached in the fields at Carnock to his people, from the words of Paul, "For necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel." He told his hearers, that though the assembly had deposed him from being a member of the established church, for not doing what he believed it was sinful for him to do, yet, he hoped through grace, no public disputes should be his theme, but Jesus Christ and him crucified,¹ and then went on to illustrate his text, without saying any thing in justification of himself, or in condemnation of the assembly.

He preached in the fields till the month of September, when he removed to the neighbouring town of Dunfermline, where a church had been prepared for him. At the following meeting of assembly, in 1753, an attempt was made by the evangelical party in the church, to have the sentence of deposition rescinded; but, though some of those who voted for his deposition, stung by their own consciences, or moved by sympathy, expressed their regret in very poignant language,² yet the motion was lost by a majority of three.

He laboured in Dunfermline for five years, without any ministerial assistance, and during that period, he dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper thirteen times, preaching on these occasions commonly nine sermons, besides the exhortations at the tables. When he first determined to celebrate the Lord's Supper in his congregation at Dunfermline, he requested the assistance of some of the evangelical ministers in the church of Scotland; but from fear of the censures of the assembly, they refused him their aid.

The first minister who joined Mr Gillespie in his separation from the church of Scotland, was Mr Boston, son of the well known author of the *Fourfold State*. The parish of Jedburgh becoming vacant, the people were earnestly desirous that Mr Boston, who was minister of Oxnam, and a man of eminently popular talents, might be presented to the vacant charge. No attention, however, was paid to their wishes. The people of Jedburgh took their redress into their own hands, they built a church for themselves, and invited Mr Boston to become their minister; and he resigning his charge at Oxnam, and renouncing his connexion with the church of Scotland, cheerfully accepted their invitation. He was settled among them, 9th December, 1757. He immediately joined Mr Gillespie, to whom he was an important acquisition, from his popular talents, and extensive influence in the south of Scotland. Though associated together, and lending mutual aid, they did not proceed to any acts of government, till by a violent settlement in the parish of Kilconquhar, in Fife, the people were led to erect a place of worship for themselves, in the village of Colinsburgh, to which they invited as their pastor, the Rev. Thomas Collier, a native of the district, who had for some time been settled at Ravenstonedale, in Northumberland, in connexion with the English Dissenters. At his admission to the charge of the congregation formed in Colinsburgh, on the 22d of October, 1761, Mr Gillespie and Mr Boston, with an elder from their respective congregations, first met as a presbytery. In the minute of that meeting, they rehearsed the circumstances connected with their separation from the church of Scotland, and

¹ Dr Erskine's Preface to his *Essay on Temptations*.

² *Memoir of Gillespie*, in the *Quarterly Magazine*, by Dr Stuart.

declared that they had formed themselves into a presbytery for the relief of Christians oppressed in their privileges.

The number of congregations in connexion with the Relief rapidly increased. It afforded an asylum for those who desired to have the choice of their own ministers, yet could not accede to the peculiarities of the secession. Relief from patronage, the assertion of the people's right to choose their own ministers, the extending of their communion to all visible saints, to all sound in the faith and of holy life—these were the distinguishing peculiarities which marked the Relief. They were distinguished from the two bodies of the Secession by their permission of occasional hearing, their disregard of the covenants sworn by our Scottish ancestors, their neglect of the duty of covenanting, and their not restricting their communion to their own Christian societies. For these defects, as they were called, they were rated soundly by the Secession writers. They may now, perhaps, be set down as merits. Gillespie died, 19th January, 1774.

It has been said, that Gillespie cooled in his attachment to the Relief, in the latter part of his life, and that he even expressed a wish that his congregation should join the established church, as a chapel of ease. This last assertion is certainly questionable. It has been contradicted by Mr Smith, in his *Historical Sketches of the Relief Church*, who, holding a charge in Dunfermline, and living among the personal associates of Gillespie, may be reckoned a competent witness as to what was known of Mr Gillespie's sentiments. He states, that the church and part of the congregation were carried over to the establishment by the undue influence and representations of Mr Gillespie's brother; and that Mr Gillespie had no difference with his brethren as to the constitution and principles of the Relief church. He never discovered to his people any inclination to be connected again with the establishment. His disapprobation of that church which deposed him, continued to the end of his days.¹ He was, however, dissatisfied with some of his brethren for the willingness they showed to listen to the application of Mr Perrie (1770), to be received into the body. Perhaps, too, his being thrown into the shade in the conduct of the public affairs of the body, by the active business habits of Mr Bain, after his accession to the Relief, might heighten his chagrin. These circumstances, operating on the tenderness of temper incident to old age and increasing infirmities, seem to have created in his mind a degree of dissatisfaction with some of his brethren; but that he repented of the steps he had taken in the formation of the presbytery of Relief, or that he had changed his sentiments in the terms of communion, on the impropriety of the civil magistrate's interference in ecclesiastical affairs, or similar points, there is no evidence.

The only productions of Gillespie that have been published are, an *Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations in the Church*, published in his lifetime, and a *Treatise on Temptation*, in 1774, after his death, both prefaced by Dr J. Erskine, of Edinburgh. The first is designed to prove that God does not now give to any individuals by impressions, dreams, or otherwise, any intimations of facts or future events. He argues the point solidly and sensibly, and with some ingenuity. From his correspondence, it appears that the topic had occupied his thoughts much. He corresponded with Doddridge, Harvey, and president Edwards; and his correspondence with Edwards has been published in the *Quarterly Magazine*, conducted by Dr Stuart, son-in-law to Dr Erskine.

Mr Gillespie always prepared carefully for the pulpit. He left in MS. about eight hundred sermons, fairly and distinctly written. The last set of sermons he composed and preached were on searching the Scriptures, from John v. 39.

¹ Pp. 27, 28.

GILLESPIE, (REV.) WILLIAM, minister of Kells in Galloway, was the eldest son of the Rev. John Gillespie, who preceded him in that charge; and was born in the manse of the parish, February 18, 1776. After receiving the rudiments of education at the parish school, he entered the university of Edinburgh, in 1792, and was appointed tutor to Mr Don, afterwards Sir Alexander Don, bart., in whose company he was introduced to the most cultivated society. While acting in this capacity, and at the same time prosecuting his theological studies, he amused himself by writing verses, and at this time commenced his poem entitled the "Progress of Refinement," which was not completed or published till some years afterwards. Among other clubs and societies of which he was a member, may be instanced the Academy of Physics, which comprehended Brougham, Jeffrey, and other young men of the highest abilities, and of which an account has already been given in our article, *Dr Thomas Brown*.¹ In 1801, having for some time completed his studies, and obtained a license as a preacher, he was ordained helper and successor to his father, with the unanimous approbation of the parish. Soon after, he was invited by his former pupil, Mr Don, to accompany him in making the tour of Europe; and he had actually left home for the purpose, when the project was stopped by intelligence of the renewal of the war with France. In 1805, Mr Gillespie published "the Progress of Refinement, an allegorical poem," intended to describe the advance of society in Britain, from its infancy to maturity, but which met with little success. It was generally confessed that, though Mr Gillespie treated every subject in poetry with much taste and no little feeling, he had not a sufficient draught of inspiration, or that vivid fervour of thought which is so called, to reach the highest rank as a versifier. In 1806, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the full charge of the parish of Kells. For some years afterwards, he seems to have contented himself in a great measure with discharging his duties as a clergyman, only making occasional contributions to periodical works, or communicating information to the Highland Society, of which he was a zealous and useful member. At length, in 1815, he published, in an octavo volume, "Consolation and other Poems," which, however, received only the same limited measure of applause which had already been bestowed upon his *Progress of Refinement*. Mr Gillespie, in July 1825, married Miss Charlotte Hoggan; but being almost immediately after seized with erysipelas, which ended in general inflammation, he died, October 15, in the fiftieth year of his age. As the character of this accomplished person had been of the most amiable kind, his death was very generally and very sincerely mourned: his biographer, Mr Murray, in his *Literary History of Galloway*, states the remarkable fact, that, amidst the many wet eyes which surrounded his grave, "even the sexton—a character not in general noted for soft feelings—when covering the remains of his beloved pastor, sobbed and wept to such a degree that he was hardly able to proceed with his trying duty."

GLASS, JOHN, founder of a sect still known by his name, was the son of the Rev. Alexander Glass, minister of the parish of Auchtermuchty, in the county of Fife, where he was born on the 21st of September, 1695. In the year 1697, his father was transported to the parish of Kinclaven, at which place Mr John Glass received the rudiments of his education. He was afterwards sent to the grammar school of Perth, where he learned the Latin and Greek languages. He completed his studies at the universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh, and having been licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Perth, was, in 1719, ordained a minister of the church of Scotland, in the parish of

¹ We regret that a mistake occurred in that account, in so far as Mr Thomas Erskine was alluded to, instead of Mr William Erskine, the erudite editor of the *Memoirs of Baber*.

Tealing, in the neighbourhood of Dundee. Mr Glass had been a diligent student, was deeply impressed with the importance of the ministerial character, and the awful responsibility which attached to it, and was anxious, in no common degree, about the due discharge of the various duties which it involved. In his public services he was highly acceptable, had a singular gift of prayer; and in his sermons, which, according to the fashion of the time, were seldom less than two, sometimes three hours in length, he attracted and kept up the unwearied attention of crowded audiences. His fame as a preacher, of course, soon spread abroad, and his sacramental occasions attracted vast crowds, from distant quarters, the usual concomitant, in those days, of popularity. But it was not public services alone that absorbed his attention; the more private duties of his station were equally attended to. Even so early as 1725, only two years after his settlement, he had formed within his parish a little society of persons, whom he found to be particularly under the influence of serious impressions, with whom he cultivated a more intimate intercourse, though no part of his charge was neglected. It is probable, however, that his peculiar notions of the constitution of a Christian church were by this time beginning to be developed, and this intercourse with a detached and particular part of his charge, must have tended to hasten the process. Breach of covenant engagements, from a combination of circumstances, was at this time very generally insisted on in the ministrations of the Scottish clergy. The binding obligation of both the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, being universally admitted, at which Mr Glass taking offence, began to preach against these covenants, as incompatible with the nature of the gospel dispensation and the sacred rights of conscience. A paper written by him at this time to the above effect excited a very great sensation throughout the country, and called forth some of the ablest defences of these famous deeds that have yet appeared. In the above paper, Mr Glass did not state himself as formally an enemy to the covenants, but only as an inquirer, wishing further light and information respecting them; yet it was evident to every tolerably instructed person, that he was no longer a presbyterian, and that he had adopted principles, with the ramifications of which he was unacquainted, and the remote consequences of which he had never considered. His objections he grounded particularly on certain distinctions which he apprehended to exist between the New and the Old Testament churches, and which he laid down in these and such like propositions—that it was peculiar to the Old Testament church of Israel; that the commonwealth and church were the same; so that to be a member of the commonwealth, was certainly to be a member of the church. But in opposition to this typical church, which was an earthly kingdom, the New Testament church, or kingdom of heaven, consists not of any earthly kingdom, nor of many commonwealths joined in one, but of a society gathered out of all nations into one in Christ.—That the commonwealth of Israel became a church by virtue of the covenants of promise, from which the Gentiles were strangers. These covenants were the covenant of circumcision, and the Sinai covenant, including in it the whole laav of commandments contained in ordinances. That the church or commonwealth of Israel had three standing officers in it suitable to the earthly but typical nature of it, viz.—prophet, priest, and king, all of them ecclesiastical offices, the like of which there was never nor will be in any nation, but in the heavenly nation typified by the earthly nation of Israel; and there they are only to be found in the person of Jesus Christ, &c. These, we may observe, though branched out into different propositions, are all one and the same thing, and they betray the distraction of an ingenuous mind bewildered by its own

misconceptions. Nothing admits of easier or more direct proof than that, however closely united, the church and state of Israel were formally distinct. They were distinct in respect of laws, having the ceremonial for the church, the judicial for the state; in respect of officers, as a church having priests and Levites, as a state having magistrates and judges, rulers over tens, hundreds, thousands, &c.; in respect of controversies, as a church, having to deal with the Lord's matters, as a state, dealing with those of the King; in respect of actings, as a church, offering sacrifices of divine appointment, receiving sacraments, &c.; in respect of members, many members of the Jewish church being members of far distant states, such as the Ethiopian eunuch, &c. That the church of Israel was a typical church, and the king an officer in that church, are assertions equally loose and ridiculous. Is not a type a mere shadow, prefiguring something future? and the Jewish church had many of these shadows or typical ordinances; but did that constitute her a typical church? No, surely; she was as really a church, as that under the New Testament, and possessed the same privileges, though less splendidly illuminated. Kings have in all ages been prone to fancy themselves something more than they really are, and some of the Jewish kings were weak enough to fancy themselves priests, but they paid for their temerity,—witness Saul and Joash. Our business, however, is not to combat, but to relate the opinions as far as we can, along with the actions of the subject of our memoir, who was shortly after this processed before the church courts; and refusing to sign the formula and some passages of the Confession of Faith, was by the synod of Angus and Mearns, deposed from his office, on the twelfth of April, 1728.

The same year he published his "King of Martyrs," in which he embodied his views more fully matured, yet not less doubtful than in the propositions we have already adverted to. The book, however, has had no inconsiderable share of popularity, and it has served for a general storehouse, whence Mr Patrick Hutchison, and after him all the modern advocates of spirituality, as a peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of the New Testament church, have drawn their principal arguments. On his deposition, Mr Glass removed from Tealing to Dundee, where several persons joining him, he formed the first church of the kind in Scotland. There seems to have been in Scotland, from their first appearance in England, in the time of the civil wars, a peculiar feeling of dislike towards the *sectaries*, as the independents were called. Robert Baillie wrote a book principally against them, during the sitting of the Westminster Assembly; and in his letters there are many references to them, exceedingly ridiculous. The same feeling was still unbroken; and to hold that every assembly of Christians might form themselves into a church, subject to no judicatory, and having powers of calling, ordination, and government wholly within itself, though advocated and practised by Milton, Owen, Caryle, Goodwin, Howe, and a long list of other names scarcely less illustrious, was considered to display a want of both common sense and piety. Of course this small body was not without its share of reproach, nor were the members without their fears respecting the practicability of the scheme, being doubtful of a sufficiency of gifts in the lay brethren. When they came to the proof, however, they were agreeably disappointed; and wherever they had occasion to form churches, which was in a short time in a great many places, appear to have found no lack of qualified persons. In the year 1733, Mr Glass removed from Dundee to Perth, where he erected a small meeting-house, which was thought great presumption, especially as the handful of people that attended arrogated to themselves the name of a church. Attempts were even made to eject them forcibly from the town, and a certain lady beholding Mr Glass in the street, was heard to exclaim, "why do they not rive [tear] him in pieces?" In the year 1739, the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, the same that

gave positive orders to the commission to proceed against the Seceders with the censures of the church, took off, by a very curious act, the sentence of deposition that had been passed against Mr Glass. In this act he is stated to hold some peculiar views, which the Assembly do not think inconsistent with his being a minister. They accordingly restored him to the character of a minister of the gospel of Christ, but declared at the same time, he was not to be esteemed a minister of the established church of Scotland, or capable of being called and settled therein, till he shall renounce these peculiar views. This act, even among the anomalous acts of church courts, was certainly a very strange one. If Mr Glass, however, was satisfied on good grounds that he was the minister or a minister of Christ, it could make certainly little difference, whether he was so of the church of Scotland or not. At the time of his deposition, Mr Glass had a large family, and when he was deprived of his stipend, had no visible means of supporting it. This, taken in connexion with the persecutions of another kind which he was made to endure, affords sufficient evidence, whatever any may think of his principles, that he was sincere and conscientious in their profession. In this sacrifice of worldly interests, it is pleasing to learn, that he had a most efficient coadjutor in his excellent wife, Catharine Black, a daughter of the Rev. Mr Black of Perth, by whom he had fifteen children, all of whom he outlived. This worthy woman, persuaded that the cause in which he was engaged was the cause of God, encouraged him in his darkest moments, to perseverance, and to a cheerful trust in divine providence, even for such things as might be needful for this present frail and transitory life; nor was his confidence in vain. In the death of so many children, their faith and patience was also severely tried, especially in the case of such of them as had arrived at the years of maturity. One of his sons was the occasion of much trouble to him, and left his house a disobedient son. Like the prodigal in the parable, however, he repented in his affliction, and returned a very different person. His son Thomas lived to become a very respectable bookseller in Dundee, where he was settled in life, and became pastor to the congregation his father had left in that place; but he was cut off in the prime of life, by a fever. Another of his sons, George, was a sea-captain, the well known author of the *History of the Canary Islands*, published by Dodsley, in 1764. He afterwards went out for a London company to attempt forming a settlement on the coast of Africa, where he was seized by the Spaniards and kept a prisoner for several years. The men whom he had conducted to Africa, were in the mean time murdered, and his ship plundered. Having by a pencil note inclosed in a loaf of bread, found means to make his case known to the British consul, the government interfered and he was set at liberty, took his passage with his wife and one daughter for London, intending to revisit his native country. The ship in which he had thus embarked his little all, was unfortunately loaded with specie, which awakening the cupidity of a part of the crew, they conspired to murder the captain and to secure the vessel. Captain Glass, hearing the disturbance on deck when the mutiny broke out, drew his sword and hastened up to the scene of riot, but was stabbed in the back by one of the conspirators, who had been lurking below. Mrs Glass and her daughter clung to one another imploring mercy, but were thrown overboard locked in each other's arms. The murderers landed on the coast of Ireland, where they unshipped the money chests, which they hid in the sands, and went to an ale-house to refresh themselves. Here they were taken up on suspicion, confessed the atrocious action, and were subsequently executed. Mr Glass and his friends in Perth had been apprized by letter, that his son was on his voyage home, and were in daily expectation of his arrival, when the above notice of the ship and her crew reached Perth, by means of a

newspaper. It was a most distressing affair, and no one knew how to communicate the tidings to the aged parent. It was at last determined to point him to the paragraph in the paper, and to wait the issue in silence. Mr Glass bore the shock with the most perfect resignation, and in a few hours attended the church meeting, where he took his part of the service, as if nothing had befallen him. When he was afterwards told of the murderers being executed, he only remarked what a glorious instance of Divine grace it would be, if George Glass and his murderers, should have met together in heaven. Mr Glass died in 1773, aged seventy-eight. In the latter part of his life, he had occasion to travel frequently among the churches of his connexion, and on these journeys was always accompanied by some of his friends, who delighted to enjoy his cheerful and entertaining conversation. On one of these occasions, being charged with levity of mind, as contrasted with the gravity of some other ministers, he replied, "I too can be grave at times, when I want money or want righteousness;" intimating that covetousness and self-righteousness, were perhaps the foundation of that gravity they seemed so much to admire. Several of the ministers of the established church of Scotland, were much impressed with the doctrines and practices of Mr Glass, and on that account regularly corresponded with him, but none of them were disposed to relinquish their livings, save Mr Byers of St Boswell's, Tiviotdale, and Mr Ferrier of Largo, in Fife. It would greatly exceed our limits to enter into the peculiarities of doctrine, and of practice, by which the followers of Mr Glass are distinguished. Their doctrines, and perhaps their practices, received considerable modifications from Mr Robert Sandeman, son-in-law to Mr Glass, well known to the world by his letters on Theron and Aspasio, from whom the sect are also denominated Sandemanians. Faith, they assert, is nothing more than a simple assent to the divine testimony concerning Jesus Christ, delivered for the offences of men, and raised again for their justification, as recorded in the New Testament. The word faith or belief, they maintain to be used by the apostles, to signify nothing farther than what it does in ordinary discourse, viz. a persuasion of the truth of any proposition, and that there is no difference between believing any common testimony and believing the apostolic testimony, except that which results from the testimony itself and the divine authority upon which it rests. Their peculiarities of practice consist (if we are correctly informed, for we have never been in any of their meetings) in the weekly administration of the Lord's supper,—love feasts, of which all are required to partake—the kiss of charity practised at these feasts, on the admission of a new member, and on other occasions, when they deem it necessary—weekly collections before the Lord's supper, for the poor, and defraying their necessary expenses—mutual exhortation—abstinence from blood, and from things strangled—washing each other's feet, the precept concerning which, they understand, as well as other precepts, literally—community of goods, so far as that every one is to consider all that he has in possession, liable to the calls of the poor and the church—and the unlawfulness of laying up treasures upon earth, by setting them apart for any distant, and consequently uncertain use. They maintain a plurality of elders, pastors, or bishops in each church, and the necessity of the presence of two elders in every act of discipline, and at the administration of the Lord's supper. In the choice of these elders, want of learning or engagements in business, are not sufficient objections, provided the persons be otherwise qualified, according to the apostolic rule. Second marriages, however, are an insuperable bar to the office. They ordain their elders by prayer, fasting, imposition of hands, and giving the right hand of fellowship. In their discipline, they are strict and severe, and think themselves obliged to separate from the communion and worship of all such religious societies, as

appear to them not to profess the simple truth for their only ground of hope, and who do not walk in obedience to it; and we shall only add, that in all their decisions, they esteem unanimity to be absolutely necessary.

GLENNIE, JAMES, a distinguished geometrician, a native of Fife, was born in 1750. His father was an officer in the army, and saw much severe service. Glennie received the rudiments of his education at a parochial school, and was afterwards removed to the university of St Andrews, where he made considerable proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, but early discovered a strong and peculiar propensity to the sciences in general, but more particularly to geometry, a branch which he pursued with such zeal and success as to carry off two successive prizes in the mathematical class, when he was only 19 years of age. Glennie was originally intended for the church, and with this view, attended the divinity class, where he also distinguished himself, becoming a keen polemic and theologian, and an acute and able disputant. Whether, however, from his finding a difficulty in obtaining a church, or from the impulse of his own disposition, he abandoned the idea of entering into holy orders, and chose rather to seek his fortune in the army. Through the interest of the earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university of St Andrews and of the professors of that university, to whom Glennie's talents had strongly recommended him, he obtained a commission in the artillery, a branch of the service for which his geometrical knowledge eminently fitted him. On the breaking out of the American war, in 1775, Glennie embarked for that country with the troops sent out by the mother country to co-operate with those already there, in the suppression of the insurgents. On his arrival, now a lieutenant of artillery, he was placed under the command of general St Leger; his reputation however, as a promising officer and skilful engineer, was already so great, that he was left in full command of his own particular department. Throughout the whole campaign which followed, he conducted all his operations with such judgment and intrepidity, as to attract the notice of the marquis of Townshend, who, without solicitation or any interest whatever being made, transferred Glennie to the engineers; and this flattering circumstance, together with the reasons annexed, were certified in the London Gazette. In 1779, he was further gratified by being nominated one of the thirty practitioner engineers, and appointed second, and soon after first lieutenant. So active and industrious were Glennie's habits, that even while engaged in the arduous and dangerous duties of his profession in America, he wrote a number of important papers on abstruse subjects. These he transmitted to the Royal Society, where they were read and deemed so valuable, as to procure him the honour of being elected a member, and that, as in the case of the celebrated Dr Franklin, without fees, and even without his knowledge.

On his return to England, Mr Glennie married Miss Mary Anne Locke, daughter of the store-keeper at Plymouth.

The good fortune, however, which had hitherto attended Glennie, and the prosperous career which apparently lay still before him, were now about to close in darkness and disappointment. The first blow to Glennie's hopes of future promotion, proceeded from a circumstance sufficiently remarkable in itself. The duke of Richmond, who was at the time of Glennie's return from America, master general of the Board of Ordnance, in which he had displaced Glennie's early patron the marquis of Townshend, had conceived the absurd idea of fortifying all our naval arsenals, and of forming lines of defence on the coast, instead of increasing the navy, and trusting to that arm for protection against a foreign enemy. The Duke was much opposed on this point in parliament; but as it was a favourite idea, he persevered, and supported as he was

by the influence and eloquence of Pitt, would have carried the measure, but for the skill and talent of a subaltern of artillery; and that subaltern, who coped successfully with a minister of state on a great national question, was Glennie.

The duke of Richmond, aware of Glennie's talents in the sciences of gunnery and fortification, frequently and anxiously endeavoured to obtain his approbation of his plans; with more candour than wisdom, however, he not only steadfastly withheld this approbation, but unhesitatingly declared them to be absurd and impracticable. Glennie's early patron, the marquis of Townshend, knowing the former's opinion of the duke of Richmond's plans, invited him to his residence, where he detained him until he had composed, which he did at the marquis's request, a pamphlet on the subject. The pamphlet, which was written with great ability and discovered a profound knowledge of the matter of which it treated, was immediately published, and produced a prodigious effect. It instantly opened the eyes of the public to the absurdity of the minister's ideas: his projects were overturned, and the country was saved; but Glennie was ruined.

In this celebrated pamphlet, which is simply entitled "A Short Essay," it was demonstrated that extensive lines produce prolonged weakness, not strength, and showed that troops are much more formidable as an active and movable force, than as an inert body, cooped up in fortifications. It showed further, that the sum (calculated at 40 or 50 millions) which should be required to carry the duke's plans into effect, was more than would be necessary to build a new and complete fleet, superior to that of any power on earth. Besides all this, it was shown, that it would require 22,000 soldiers for the intended fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth alone.

Glennie, perceiving that all hopes of further promotion were now at an end, resigned his commission and emigrated to British America with his wife and children. Here he purchased a tract of land, and soon afterwards became a contractor for ship timber and masts for government. The speculation failed, and both Glennie himself, and a partner, a wealthy man who had joined him in it, were ruined. Driven back to England, but now, as many years had elapsed, forgotten and without friends, Glennie applied to the earl of Chatham, who recognizing his merits, but unable to do more for him, retained rather than employed him as "engineer extraordinary." Soon after, however, he procured Glennie the appointment of instructor to the East India Company's young artillery officers, with salary and emoluments amounting to £400 per annum. Glennie's good fortune was, however, again but of short duration. He was summoned as an evidence on some points in the celebrated trial of the duke of York and Mrs Clarke; his evidence was unfavourable to the duke; the consequence was, that he soon afterwards received an official letter from the board of directors, dispensing with his services.

In 1812, Glennie, now in the 62d year of his age, went out to Copenhagen at the request of a gentleman who then held a seat in parliament, to negotiate the purchase of a certain plantation. Glennie, having set out on his mission without coming to any explicit terms with his employer, his claim for compensation on his return was disputed, and referred to arbitration; but the referees could not agree, and the matter therefore was never adjusted. Glennie, now in an exceedingly destitute condition, without friends who could assist him, his health destroyed, and himself far advanced in life, made an unsuccessful attempt to procure a few mathematical pupils, and finally died of apoplexy on the 23d November, 1817, in the 67th year of his age. His remains were interred in the church-yard of St Martin's in the Fields.

Amongst other proofs of Glennie's geometrical knowledge is to be found a solution of Dr Matthew Stewart's "42d proposition on 39th theorem," which

had remained unsolved and had puzzled the learned for 65 years; and also a demonstration of the impossibility of "Squaring the circle," a question which has long excited public curiosity, and which it is said engaged the attention and eluded the research of the great Newton.

GOODAL, *WALTER*, well known as an historical antiquary, was the eldest son of John Goodal, a farmer in Banffshire, and was born about the year 1706. In 1723, he was entered as a student in King's college, Aberdeen, but did not continue long enough to take a degree. In 1730, he obtained employment in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, under the famous Thomas Ruddiman, who was a native of the same district, and perhaps patronized him on account of some local recommendations. He assisted Ruddiman in the compilation of the first catalogue of the library, which was published in 1742. When Ruddiman was succeeded by David Hume, Goodal continued to act as sub-librarian, probably upon a very small salary. Like both of his successive superiors, he was a tory and a Jacobite, but, it would appear, of a far more ardent character than either of them. Being, almost as a matter of course, a believer in the innocence of queen Mary, he contemplated writing her life, but afterwards limited his design to a publication entitled "An examination of the letters said to be written by Mary to James earl of Bothwell," which appeared in 1754. In this work, says Mr George Chalmers, he could have done more, if he had had less prejudice and more coolness. Hume had become librarian two years before this period; but "the chief duty," we are informed, "fell upon Walter, or, as he good-naturedly permitted himself to be called, *Watty* Goodal. One day, while Goodal was composing his treatise concerning queen Mary, he became drowsy, and laying down his head upon his manuscripts, in that posture fell asleep. Hume entering the library, and finding the controversialist in that position, stepped softly up to him, and laying his mouth to Watty's ear, roared out with the voice of a Stentor, that queen Mary was a whore, and had murdered her husband. Watty, not knowing whether it was a dream or a real adventure, or whether the voice proceeded from a ghost or living creature, started up, and before he was awake or his eyes well opened, he sprang upon Hume, and seizing him by the throat, pushed him to the further end of the library, exclaiming all the while that he was some base presbyterian parson, who was come to murder the character of queen Mary as his predecessors had contributed to murder her person. Hume used to tell this story with much glee, and Watty acknowledged the truth of it with much frankness."

In 1753, Mr Goodal acted as editor of a new edition of the work called Crawford's Memoirs, which he is generally blamed for not having corrected or purified from the vitiations of its author. In 1754, he published an edition, with emendatory notes, of Scott of Scotstarvet's *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, and wrote a preface and life to Sir James Balfour's *Practicks*. He contributed also to Keith's catalogue of Scottish bishops, and published an edition of Fordun's "*Scotichronicon*," with a Latin introduction, of which an English version was given to the world in 1769. Goodal died July 28, 1766, in very indigent circumstances, which Mr Chalmers attributes to habits of intemperance. The following extract from the minutes of the faculty of advocates, throws a melancholy light upon the subject and is fully entitled to a place in Mr D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*:—

"A petition was presented in name of Mary Goodal, only daughter of the deceased Mr Walter Goodal, late depute-keeper of the Advocates' Library, representing that the petitioner's father died the 28th last month; that by reason of some accidental misfortunes happening in his affairs, any small pieces of household furniture or other movables he hath left behind, will scarcely defray

the expense of his funeral; that if there is any overplus, [it] will be attached by his creditors; that she is in the most indigent circumstances, and without friends to give her any assistance; that she proposes to go to the north country, where she hath some relations, in order to try if she can be put upon any way of gaining her bread; that she would not be permitted to leave the town until she should discharge some small debts that she was by necessity obliged to contract; that, besides, she was in such want of clothes and other necessaries, that she can scarcely appear in the streets; and that, in her most distressed situation, she hath presumed to make this humble application to the honourable the Dean and Faculty of Advocates, praying that they would be pleased to order her such a sum from their fund as they shall judge her necessities require.

“The Dean and Faculty, taking this clamant case under their consideration, were unanimously of opinion that the petitioner should have some allowance out of their fund.” The sum given was ten pounds.

GORDON, ALEXANDER, author of various learned and useful antiquarian works, is one of the numerous subjects for the present publication, of whom nothing is known except their birth *in Scotland*, and their transactions in public life *out of it*. He was a well-educated man, possessing, what was not in his time common among the Scottish literati, an intimate knowledge of the Greek language. In early life, he travelled through France, and other parts of the continent, and spent some years in Italy. His first publication referred to the antiquities of his native country, which he seems to have explored with minute and pains-taking fidelity. The work appeared in 1726, under the title of “*Itinerarium Septentrionale*, or a Journey through most parts of the counties of Scotland, in two parts, with sixty-six copper-plates,” folio: a supplement, published in 1732, was entitled, “*Additions and Corrections to the Itinerarium Septentrionale*, containing several dissertations on, and descriptions of Roman antiquities discovered in Scotland since publishing the said Itinerary.” These were among the first efforts in what may be called pure antiquities which were made in Scotland. The Itinerary was considered so valuable a work, that it was translated into Latin, and published in Holland in 1731, (the Supplement included,) for the use of general scholars throughout Europe. In 1729, Mr Gordon published “*The Lives of Pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia*, comprehending the wars in the reign of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII., kings of France, and the chief transactions and revolutions in Italy from 1492 to 1516, with an appendix of original pieces referred to in the work.” This work was also in folio. In 1730, he published in octavo, “*A Complete History of Ancient Amphitheatres*, more particularly regarding the architecture of these buildings, and in particular that of Verona; by the marquis Scipio Maffei; translated from the Italian.” In 1736, Mr Gordon was appointed secretary to the Society for the encouragement of learning, with an annual salary of fifty pounds; and also secretary to the Antiquarian Society: the former place he resigned in 1739, and the latter in 1741. About the same time, he officiated as secretary to the Egyptian Club, an association of learned individuals who had visited Egypt, comprising lord Sandwich, Dr Shaw, Dr Pococke, and others of nearly equal distinction. Mr Gordon published two other works—“*An Essay towards explaining the hieroglyphical figures on the coffin of the ancient mummy belonging to captain William Iethieullier*,” 1737, and “*Twenty-five plates of all the Egyptian mummies and other Egyptian antiquities, in England*,” about 1739—both in folio.

Mr Gordon was destined, after doing so much to explain the antiquities of the old world, to the extraordinary fate of spending his last years in the new,

where there are no ancient remains whatever. He was induced in 1741, to accompany governor Glen to Carolina in North America, where, besides a grant of land, he had several offices, particularly that of register of the province. He died about 1750, leaving a valuable estate to his family.

GORDON, GEORGE, commonly called lord George Gordon, one of the most remarkable Scotsmen who have flourished in modern political history, was the third son of Cosmo George, third duke of Gordon, by Catharine, daughter of William, earl of Aberdeen. He was born in Upper Brook Street, London, in Dec. 1750, and was baptized in Jan., 1752; George II. standing as his sponsor or god-father. Of his boyhood or education, we know little or nothing; nor does there appear to have supervened any peculiar trait of conduct, or bias of disposition, during his juvenile years, to distinguish him from his compeers, or forebode the singular eccentricity and erratic waywardness of his future career. At a very tender age he entered the navy, in which he arrived, by due gradation, at the rank of lieutenant. The reason of his afterwards abandoning the naval profession, was a pretended disappointment at non-promotion in the service, while it was, in fact, a mere job effected by some of the opposition members to win him to their ranks, as will afterwards be seen. In the year 1772, being then scarcely twenty years of age, he went to reside in Inverness-shire, with the view of opposing general Fraser of Lovat, as member for the county, at the next general election, which would, of necessity, take place in two years thereafter at farthest. This was indeed bearding the lion in his den, and appeared about as Quixotic an undertaking, as that of displacing one of the chieftain's native mountains. Such, however, were his ingratiating qualities, the frankness of his manners, the affability of his address, and his happy knack of accommodating himself to the humours of all classes, that, when the day of election drew nigh, and the candidates began to number their strength, Lovat found, to his unutterable confusion and vexation, that his beardless competitor had actually succeeded in securing a majority of votes! Nor could the most distant imputations of bribery or undue influence be charged upon the young political aspirant. All was the result of his winning address and popular manners, superadded to his handsome countenance, which is said to have been of almost feminine beauty and delicacy. He played on the bagpipes and violin to those who loved music. He spoke Gaelic and wore the philabeg, where these were in fashion. He made love to the young ladies, and listened with patience and deference to the garrulous sermonizing of old age. And, finally, gave a splendid ball to the gentry at Inverness,—one remarkable incident concerning which, was his hiring a ship, and bringing from the isle of Skye the family of the M'Leods, consisting of *fifteen* young ladies—the pride and admiration of the north. It was not to be tolerated, however, that the great feudal chieftain should thus be thrust from his hereditary political possession by a mere stripling. Upon an application to the duke, lord George's eldest brother, a compromise was agreed on, by which it was settled, that upon lord George's relinquishing Inverness-shire, general Fraser should purchase a seat for him in an English borough; and he was accordingly returned for Ludgershall, the property of lord Melbourne, at the election of 1774.

It would appear, that for some time after taking his seat, lord George voted with the ministry of the day. He soon, however, and mainly, it is affirmed, by the influence of his sister-in-law, the celebrated duchess of Gordon, became a convert to the principles of the opposition; and it was not long ere, at the instigation of governor Johnstone and Mr Burke, he fairly broke with the ministry, upon their refusal to comply with a most unreasonable demand for promotion over the heads of older and abler officers, which the gentlemen just named had

incited him to make. From this time forward, he became a zealous opponent of government, especially as regarded their policy towards America, where discontents against their measures were becoming rife and loud. It was not, however, until the session of 1776 that he stood forth as a public speaker, when he commenced his career by a furious attack on ministers, whom he accused of an *infamous* attempt to bribe him over to their side by the offer of a sinecure of £1000 a year. Whether this charge was true or false, certain it is that ministers felt the effects of the imputation so severely, reiterated and commented on as it was in the withering eloquence of Fox, Burke, and others, that an attempt was made to induce him to cede his seat in parliament, in favour of the famous Irish orator, Henry Flood, by the offer of the place of vice-admiral of Scotland, then vacant by the resignation of the duke of Queensberry. Notwithstanding that lord George's fortune was then scarcely £700 per annum, he had the fortitude to resist the proffered bait, and seemed determined, like Andrew Marvel, to prefer dining for three days running on a single joint, rather than sacrifice his independence by the acceptance of court-favour. His lordship, indeed, soon began to estrange himself from both parties in the house, and to assume a position then entirely new in parliamentary tactics, and somewhat parallel to the course chalked out for themselves by a few of our patriots in the house of commons at the present day. Disclaiming all connexion with either whigs or tories, he avowed himself as being devoted solely to the cause of the people. Continuing to represent the borough of Ludgershall, he persevered in animadverting with great freedom, and often with great wit, on the proceedings on both sides of the house, and became so marked, that it was usual at that time to say, that "there were three parties in parliament—the ministry, the opposition, and lord George Gordon."

A bill had been brought into parliament, in the session of 1778, by Sir George Saville, who is described by a writer of the whig party as one of the most upright men which perhaps any age or country ever produced, to relieve the Roman catholic subjects of England from some of the penalties they were subject to, by an act passed in the eleventh and twelfth year of King William III.,—an act supposed by many to have originated in faction, and which at all events, from many important changes since the time of its enactment, had become unnecessary, and therefore unjust.

On the passing of this bill, which required a test of fidelity from the parties who claimed its protection, many persons of that religion, and of the first families and fortunes in the kingdom, came forward with the most zealous professions of attachment to the government; so that the good effects of the indulgence were immediately felt, and hardly a murmur from any quarter was heard. This act of Sir George Saville did not extend to Scotland; but in the next winter, a proposition was made by several individuals to revise the penal laws in force against the catholics in that kingdom also: at least a report prevailed of such an intention. The people in general, having still a keen recollection of the religious dissensions of the preceding century, were strongly excited by this rumour, and formed numerous associations throughout the country, for the purpose of resisting, by petition, any remission of the catholic penalties. In this movement, they were countenanced generally by the less moderate section of the national clergy, and, perhaps, the public fervour was raised by no circumstance so much as by the indifference with which the majority of that body had treated the subject in the General Assembly of 1778, when the idea of a prospective declaration against the measure, was coldly negatived. The proceedings in Scotland, and some inflammatory pamphlets, published about the same time, gradually awakened the public mind in England, or at least the less informed part

of it, to a conviction of the danger of Sir George Saville's act, and a powerful society was formed at London, under the name of the "Protestant Association," for endeavouring to procure the repeal of the bill. Large subscriptions were raised in different parts of the kingdom, a secretary was publicly chosen, and correspondences set on foot between the different societies in England and Scotland. To crown all, in November, 1779, lord George Gordon, M. P., was unanimously invited to become president of the association, of which situation he accepted. One thing ought here to be observed, in judging of the sincerity of this nobleman in the part he took in the subsequent public proceedings on this subject, both in and out of parliament, that he offered no opposition whatever to the passing of Sir George Saville's repeal act.

In detailing the fearful events which ensued both in England and Scotland, in consequence of this struggle of parties, it is necessary that some regard be had to chronological order; and we must, therefore, first of all turn our attention to the posture of affairs in our own country.

Soon after the passing of the tolerating act in favour of the English and Irish Catholics, those of that creed in Scotland, encouraged, as we have said, by demonstrations in their favour in various influential quarters, prepared a petition to parliament, praying for the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges which had been extended to their more fortunate brethren. At this juncture an anonymous pamphlet appeared at Edinburgh, which caused an extraordinary sensation throughout the country. Its effects were first developed by the proceedings in the provincial synods, by almost all of which (excepting that of Lothian and Tweeddale) violent and angry resolutions were passed against the papists, and the firmest determination expressed to oppose their petition. These resolutions being published in the newspapers, soon propagated the ferment and fanned the popular excitement into a blaze. Numerous societies were organized at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere, who severally passed resolutions to the same effect. That at Edinburgh, together with all the incorporations of the city, excepting the surgeons, the merchant company, and the society of candlemakers, petitioned the town council early in Jan. 1779, to oppose the bill, which was agreed to; and the members for the city and county were instructed accordingly. Similar proceedings also took place at Glasgow.

The populace, however, were far too highly irritated to await patiently the issue of these decided measures, and on the 2d of February their fury burst out at Edinburgh with uncontrollable violence. Incendiary letters had previously been distributed in the streets, calling upon the people to meet at the foot of Leith Wynd on the above day, "to pull down that pillar of popery lately erected there" — alluding to a house, occupied, along with other families, by a Roman catholic bishop, and which was supposed to contain a catholic place of worship. A large mob accordingly assembled, and in spite of the exertions of the magistrates, backed by a regiment of fencibles, the house was set on fire and reduced to ashes. The house of another popish clergyman in Blackfriars' Wynd was completely gutted. The catholics in all the other parts of the town were indiscriminately abused, and their houses pillaged. Nor against these alone was the violence of the mob directed. Every liberal protestant, known to favour toleration towards the catholics, became equally the objects of popular fury. Amongst these were the celebrated professor Robertson, and Mr Crosbie, an eminent advocate, whose houses were attacked, and which, but for the timely interference of the military, would doubtless, like the rest, have been fired and razed to the ground. Seeing no likelihood of a termination to the tumults, the provost and magistrates, after several days' feeble and ineffectual efforts to re-

store order, at length issued a proclamation of a somewhat singular description, *assuring the people that no repeal of the statutes against papists should take place*, and attributing the riots solely to the "fears and distressed minds of well meaning people." This announcement, nevertheless, had the effect of partially restoring quiet. The example of Edinburgh was in part copied in Glasgow; but the disturbances there, owing to the exertions and influence of the principal merchants and others, were soon got under;—the provost and magistrates, finding it necessary, however, to issue a notice similar to that of their civic brethren at Edinburgh. But notwithstanding that these magisterial assurances were corroborated by a letter to the same effect, from lord Weymouth, home secretary, dated 12th February, addressed to the lord justice clerk, the excitement throughout the country every day increased, instead of abating. At no period of our history, unless, perhaps, upon a late ever-memorable crisis, has either branch of the legislature been addressed or spoken of in language half so daring, menacing, or contemptuous. The resolutions passed by the heritors and heads of families in the parish of Carlisle, Lanarkshire, may vie with the most maledictory philippics poured forth on the heads of the "Boroughmongers" in modern days. To such a height did this anti-catholic feeling at last rise, that the papists deemed it at last prudent to memorialize parliament on the subject, and pray for protection to their lives and property, as well as redress for what they had already suffered. This petition was laid before the house by Mr Burke on the 18th of March, and it is in the debate which thereupon ensued, that we first find lord George Gordon standing forth in parliament as the champion of the protestant interests. In the following August, after the rising of the session, lord George paid a visit to Edinburgh, where he was received with extraordinary attention, and unanimously chosen president of the "committee of correspondence for the protestant interest." We ought to have mentioned that, in the month of April, the sum of £1600 had been adjudged by arbitration to the catholics in compensation of their loss in the city of Edinburgh, which amount was paid from the city's funds.

The remarkable respect and honours which lord George experienced from the protestant societies in Scotland, appear to have operated like quicksilver in his veins. He forthwith devoted himself heart and hand to their cause; and on his return to London he was, as we have already mentioned, chosen president of the formidable Protestant Association.

Encouraged by the deference paid by government to the wishes of the Scottish protestants, the members of the London association entertained the most sanguine hopes of getting a repeal of the late toleration act for England. The most strenuous exertions by advertisement and otherwise were therefore made to swell the numbers of the society; meetings were called, and resolutions passed, to petition the house of commons for an abrogation of the obnoxious act.

After various desultory motions in parliament, which it is unnecessary to specify, lord George, on the 5th of May, presented a petition from Plymouth, praying for a repeal of Sir G. Saville's act. Finding, however, the government and legislature little disposed to pay any attention to these applications, the members of the association resolved upon adopting more active and unequivocal measures to accomplish their object. A meeting was accordingly held in Coach-maker's Hall, on the evening of the 29th May—at which lord George, who was in the chair, addressed them in a long and inflammatory harangue upon the wicked designs of the papists, the fearful increase of popery in the kingdom, in consequence of the late act—and the measures indispensably necessary to be adopted for the salvation of protestantism. He said their only

resource was to go in a body to the house of commons, and express their determination to protect their religious privileges with their lives; that for his part, he would run all hazards with "the people," and if they were too lukewarm to do the like with him, they might choose another leader. This speech was received with tremendous acclamations; and resolutions were passed, that the whole protestant association should assemble in St George's fields, on the following Friday, (June 2d,) to accompany his lordship to the house of commons, where he was to present the protestant petition, and that they should march to the house in four divisions, and by different routes. His lordship also added, that unless 20,000 people, each decked with a blue cockade, assembled—he would not present the petition. Next evening, lord George gave notice in the house of commons, of his intention of presenting the petition on the appointed day, as also of the proposed processions of the association; and it is a remarkable fact, that although by the act of 1661, such a proceeding was declared quite illegal, not the slightest intimation was given to him by the ministry, to that effect.

On the day appointed, an immense concourse of people, not less it was computed than 100,000, assembled in St George's fields. Lord George, arrived about twelve o'clock, and after haranguing them for a considerable time, directed them how they were to march. One party, accordingly, proceeded round by London bridge, another over Blackfriars, and a third accompanied their president over Westminster bridge. The petition, to which the subscriptions of the petitioners were appended, on an immense number of rolls of parchment, was borne before the latter body. On their assembling at the two houses of parliament, which they completely surrounded, they announced their presence by a general shout, and it was not long ere the more unruly of them began to exercise the power they now felt themselves to possess, by abusing and maltreating the members of both houses, as they severally arrived. At the door of the house of lords, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Litchfield and Lincoln, the duke of Northumberland, lords Bathurst, Mansfield, Townshend, Hillsborough, Stormont, Dudley, and many others, were all more or less abused, both in character and person. Lord Boston, in particular, was so long in the hands of the mob, that it was at one time proposed that the house should go out in a body to his rescue. He entered at last, unwigged, and with his clothes almost torn from his person.

In the meantime, the rioters had got complete possession of the lobby of the house of commons, the doors of which they repeatedly tried to force open; and a scene of confusion, indignation, and uproar ensued in the house, almost rivaling that which was passing out of doors. Lord George, on first entering the house, had a blue cockade in his hat, but upon this being commented upon as a signal of riot, he drew it out. The greatest part of the day was consumed in debates (almost inaudible from the increasing roar of the multitude without,) relative to the fearful aspect of affairs; but something like order being at last obtained, lord George introduced the subject of the protestant petition, which, he stated, was signed by 120,000 protestants, and moved that it be immediately brought up. Leave being given, he next moved that it be forthwith taken into consideration. This informal and unprecedented proposition, was, of course, resisted; but lord George, nevertheless, declared his determination of dividing the house on the subject, and a desultory but violent debate ensued, which was terminated by the motion being negatived by 192 to 9. During the course of the discussion, the riot without became every moment more alarming, and lord George was repeatedly called upon to disperse his followers; but his manner of addressing the latter, which he did from the top of the gallery

stairs, leaves it doubtful whether his intention was to quiet or irritate them still farther. He informed them, from time to time, of the progress of the debate, and mentioned by name (certainly, to put the best construction upon it, an extremely thoughtless proceeding,) those members who opposed the immediate consideration of the petition; saying,—“Mr so and so is now speaking against you.”—He told them that it was proposed to adjourn the question to the following Tuesday, but that he did not like delays; that “parliament might be prorogued before that, and there would be an end of the affair.” During his harangues, several members of the house warmly expostulated with him on the imprudence of his conduct; but to no purpose. General Grant attempted to draw him back, begging him “for God’s sake not to lead these poor deluded people into danger;” and colonel Gordon, (or, as other authorities say, colonel Murray, uncle to the duke of Athol,) a near relative of his lordship’s, demanded of him—“Do you intend, my lord George, to bring your rascally adherents into the house of commons? If you do, the first man that enters, I will plunge my sword not into his body, but *yours*.”—In this state did matters continue until about nine o’clock at night, when a troop of horse and infantry arrived. Lord George then advised the mob to disperse quietly, observing “that now their gracious king was made aware of the wishes and determination of his subjects, he would no doubt compel his ministers to comply with their demands.” Those who attended from purely religious motives, numbering, it is said, not more than 600 or 700, immediately departed peaceably, first giving the magistrates and soldiers three cheers. The remainder also retired about 11 o’clock, after the adjournment of the house; but soon began to display the villanous designs which had congregated them. Dividing themselves into two bodies, one proceeded to the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador in Duke street, Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, the other to that of the Bavarian ambassador in Warwick street, Golden square, both of which edifices they completely gutted, burning the furniture, ornaments, &c., in heaps on the public street. A party of guards arrived, but after the mischief was over, who succeeded in capturing thirteen of the rioters. In concluding our account of this eventful day’s proceedings, we must mention, that great negligence was charged, and seemingly not without reason, against government as well as the magistracy, for the absence of every thing like preparation for preserving the peace,—aware, as they perfectly were, of the intended multitudinous procession.

Next day (Saturday) passed over without any disturbance; but this quiescence proved only a “lull before the storm.” In the afternoon of Sunday, an immense multitude met simultaneously, and evidently by previous concert, in Moorfields, and raising the slogan of “No Popery,” “Down with the Papists,” &c., immediately attacked and utterly demolished the catholic chapel, burning the altar, images, pictures, &c., in the open street. Here again, the guards arrived (to use an Irishism) in time to be too late; and encouraged by this circumstance, as well as by the lenient deportment of the military, who up to this time, had refrained from the use of either sabre or fire-arms, the rioters hourly grew more daring and outrageous. They renewed their violence early on Monday, (the king’s birth-day,) by destroying a school-house and three dwelling houses, with a valuable library, belonging to papists, in Rope-maker’s Alley. Separating their force into several detachments, they proceeded into various quarters of the city at once,—thus distracting the attention of the authorities, who appeared to be paralyzed by the fearful ongoing around them—lost all self-possession, and of course, their efficiency in checking the career of the rioters. The houses of Sir George Saville and several other public and private gentlemen, together with several popish chapels, quickly fell a prey to pillage and

flame. The violence of the mob also received an accession of fury this day from two circumstances—viz. a proclamation offering a reward of £500, for the discovery of those concerned in destroying the Bavarian and Sardinian chapels; and the public committal to Newgate of three of the supposed ringleaders on those occasions.

It must here be recorded, that early on the same morning (Monday 5th June,) the Protestant Association distributed a circular, disclaiming all connexion with the rioters, and earnestly counselling all good protestants to maintain peace and good order.

Tuesday the 6th, being the day appointed for the consideration of the protestant petition, a multitude not less numerous than that of the previous Friday, assembled round both houses of parliament, coming in however, not in one body, but in small parties. A disposition to outrage soon manifested itself, and lord Sandwich, who fell into their hands, with difficulty escaped with life, by the aid of the military, his carriage being smashed to pieces. The house of peers, after several of their lordships had commented on the unprecedented circumstances in which they were placed, unanimously decided on the absurdity of transacting business, while in a state of duress and restraint, and soon broke up, after adjourning proceedings till the Thursday following. In the house of commons, after several remarks similar to those in the upper house, and the passing of various resolutions to the same effect, a violent attack was made upon ministers by Mr Burke, Mr Fox, and others of the opposition, on account of the relaxed state of the police, which had left the legislature itself at the mercy of a reckless mob. Lord George Gordon said, if the house would appoint a day for the discussion of the petition, and to do it to the satisfaction of the people, he had no doubt they would quietly disperse. Colonel Herbert, remarked that although lord George disclaimed all connexion with the rioters, it was strange that he came into the house with their ensign of insurrection in his hat, (a blue cockade,) upon which his lordship pulled it out. A committee was then appointed "to inquire into the causes of the riot, &c.," and the house adjourned to Thursday. Upon the breaking up of the house, lord George addressed the multitude, told them what had been done, and advised them to disperse quietly. In return, they unharnessed his horses, and drew him in triumph through the town.

In the meantime, a furious attack had been made on the residence of lord North, in Downing Street, which was only saved from destruction by the interposition of the military. In the evening, the house of justice Hyde was surrounded, sacked, and all the furniture, pictures, books, &c., burned before his door. The rioters then directed their steps towards Newgate, for the purpose of releasing their companions in outrage, who were there confined. On arriving at the gates, they demanded admittance; which being refused by Mr Akerman, the governor, they forthwith proceeded to break his windows, and to batter in the doors of the prison with pick-axes and sledge-hammers. Flambeaus and other firebrands being procured, these were thrown into the governor's house, which, along with the chapel, and other parts of the prison, was speedily in flames. The prison doors were also soon consumed, and the mob rushing in, set all the prisoners, to the number of 300, (amongst whom were several under sentence of death,) at liberty. One most remarkable circumstance attending this daring proceeding must not be passed over in silence,—that from a prison thus enveloped in flames, and in the midst of a scene of such uproar and confusion, such a number of prisoners, many of them shut in cells to which access was at all times most intricate and difficult, could escape without the loss of a single life, or even the fracture of a limb! But what will appear, perhaps,

scarcely less astonishing, is the fact, that within a very few days, almost the whole of the individuals thus unexpectedly liberated were recaptured, and lodged either in their old or more secure quarters.

Still more emboldened by this reinforcement of desperate confederates, the rioters proceeded in different detachments to the houses of justice Cox and Sir John Fielding, as also to the public office in Bow Street, and the new prison, Clerkenwell; all of which they broke in upon and gutted, liberating the prisoners in the latter places, and thereby gaining fresh numbers and strength. But the most daring act of all, was their attacking the splendid mansion of lord chief justice Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square. Having broken open the doors and windows, they proceeded, as was their custom, to fling all the rich and costly furniture into the street, where it was piled into heaps and burned, amid the most exulting yells. The library, consisting of many thousands of volumes, rare MSS., title-deeds, &c., together with a splendid assortment of pictures—all were remorselessly destroyed. And all this passed, too, in the presence of between 200 and 300 soldiers, and under the eye of the lord chief justice himself, who calmly permitted this destruction of his property, rather than expose the wretched criminals to the vengeance of the military. At last, seeing preparations made to fire the premises, and not knowing where the conflagration might terminate, a magistrate read the riot act; but without effect. The military were then reluctantly ordered to fire; but although several men and women were shot, the desperadoes did not cease the work of destruction until nothing but the bare and smoking walls were left standing. At this time the British metropolis may be said to have been entirely in the hands of a lawless, reckless, and frenzied mob! The vilest of the rabble possessed more power and authority than the king upon the throne; the functions of government were, for a time, suspended; and the seat of legislation had become the theatre of anarchy and misrule. So confident now were the rioters in their own irresistible strength, that on the afternoon of the above day, they sent notices round to the various prisons yet left standing, to inform the prisoners at what hour they intended to visit and liberate them! If any one incident connected with a scene of such devastation, plunder, and triumphant villany, could raise a smile on the face of the reader or narrator, it would be the fact, that the prisoners confined in the Fleet, sent to request that they might not be turned out of their lodgings so late in the evening; to which a generous answer was returned, that they would not be disturbed till next day! In order not to be idle, however, the considerate mob amused themselves during the rest of the evening in burning the houses of lord Petre and about twenty other individuals of note—protestant as well as catholic,—and concluded the labours of the day by ordering a general illumination in celebration of their triumph—an order which the inhabitants were actually compelled to obey!

On Wednesday, this horrible scene of tumult and devastation reached its acme. A party of the rioters paid a visit to lord Mansfield's beautiful villa at Caen-wood in the forenoon, and coolly began to regale themselves with the contents of his larder and wine-cellar, preparatory to their commencing the usual work of destruction. Their orgies were interrupted, however, by a party of military, and they fled in all directions. It was not until the evening that the main body seriously renewed their diabolical work; and the scene which ensued is described by contemporary writers, who witnessed the proceedings, as being too frightful for the power of language to convey the slightest idea of. Detachments of military, foot and horse, had gradually been drawing in from different parts of the interior; the civic authorities, who up to that time had been solely occupied consulting and debating upon the course they should pur-

sue in the awful and unparalleled circumstances in which they were placed, began to gather resolution, to concentrate their force, and to perceive the absolute necessity of acting with vigour and decision—a necessity which every moment increased. The strong arm of the law, which had so long hung paralyzed over the heads of the wretched criminals, once more became nerved, and prepared to avenge the cause of justice, humanity, and social order. The struggle, however, as may well be conceived, was dreadful; and we gladly borrow the language of one who witnessed the awful spectacle, in detailing the events of that ever-memorable night. The King's Bench, Fleet Prison, Borough Clink, and Surrey Bridewell, were all in flames at the same moment, and their inhabitants let loose to assist in the general havoc. No less than *thirty-six* fearful conflagrations in different parts of the metropolis, were seen raging simultaneously, "*licking up every thing in their way,*" as a writer at the time expressively described it, and "*hastening to meet each other.*"

"Let those," observes the writer before alluded to, "call to their imagination flames ascending and rolling in vast voluminous clouds from the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, the Surrey Bridewell, and the toll houses on Blackfriars bridge; from houses in flames in every quarter of the city, and particularly from the middle and lower end of Holborn, where the premises of Messrs Langdale and Son, eminent distillers, were blazing as if the whole elements were one continued flame; the cries of men, women, and children, running up and down the street, with whatever, in their fright, they thought most necessary or most precious; the tremendous roar of the infernal miscreants inflamed with liquor, who aided the sly incendiaries, whose sole aim was plunder; and the repeated reports of the loaded musquetry dealing death and worse than death among the thronging multitude!" But it was not what was doing only, but what *might yet be done*, that roused the fears of all classes. When they beheld the very outcasts of society every where triumphant, and heard of their attempting the bank; threatening Doctors-Commons, the Exchange, the Pay-Office; in short, every repository of treasure and office of record, men of every persuasion and party bitterly lamented the rise and progress of the bloody and fatal insurrection, and execrated the authors of it. Had the bank and public offices been the first objects of attack, instead of the jails and houses of private individuals, there is not the smallest reason to doubt of their success. The consequences of such an event to the nation may well be imagined!

The regulars and militia poured into the city in such numbers during the night of Wednesday and the morning of Thursday, that, on the latter day, order was in a great measure restored; but the alarm of the inhabitants was so great that every door remained shut. So speedily and effectually, however, did the strict exercise of authority subdue the spirit of tumult, that on Friday, the 9th of June, the shops once more were opened, and business resumed its usual course.

So terminated the famous riots of 1780; an event which will long be memorable in the history of our country, and ought to remain a warning beacon to future popular leaders, of the danger of exciting the passions of the multitude for the accomplishment of a particular purpose, under the idea that they can stop the career of the monster they have evoked, *when the wished-for end is attained*. It was impossible to ascertain correctly the exact number of the unhappy beings, whose depravity, zeal, or curiosity hurried them on to a fatal doom. The sword and the musket proved not half so deadly a foe as their own inordinate passions. Great numbers died from sheer inebriation, especially at the distilleries of the unfortunate Mr Langdale, from which the unrectified spirits ran down the middle of the streets, was taken up in pailfuls, and held

to the mouths of the deluded multitude, many of whom dropt down dead on the spot, and were burned or buried in the ruins.

The following is said to be a copy of the returns made to lord Amherst of the killed and wounded by the military, during the disturbances :—

By association troops and guards,	109	} Killed
By light horse,	101	
Died in hospitals,	75	
Prisoners under cure,	173	
	<hr/> 459	

To this fatal list, which, it will be seen, is exclusive of those who perished by accident, or their own folly or infatuation, may be added those whom the vengeance of the law afterwards overtook. Eighty-five were tried at the Old Bailey, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted, forty-three acquitted, seventeen respited, and eighteen executed. At St Margaret's Hill forty were tried under special commission, of whom about twenty were executed. Besides these, several of the rioters were afterwards from time to time apprehended, tried, and executed in various parts of the country. Amongst those convicted at the Old Bailey, but afterwards respited, probably on account of the immediate occasion for his services, was the common *hangman*, Edward Dennis, the first of his profession, we believe, who was dubbed with the *soubriquet* of *Jack Ketch*. In concluding our account of these riots, we may mention that similar disturbances also broke out at the same time at Hull, Bristol, Bath, and other places, but were suppressed without almost any mischief, and no bloodshed.

On Thursday the 8th, the commons met, according to appointment, but as it was still thought necessary to keep a guard of military round the house, a state of investment incompatible with free and deliberative legislation, they immediately adjourned to the 19th. On Friday, a meeting of the privy council was held, when a warrant was issued for the apprehension of lord George Gordon. This was forthwith put into execution, and lord George was brought in a hackney coach to the Horse Guards, where he underwent a long examination, and was afterwards committed a close prisoner to the Tower, being escorted by a strong guard of horse and foot. It is scarcely necessary to state, before tracing the subsequent career and fate of this singular individual, that no repeal of the toleration act took place. The question was taken up in the house of commons on the very first day after the recess, when all parties were unanimous in reprobating the desired repeal, and the "Protestant Petition," which had given occasion, or been made the pretext for so much mischief and loss of life, accordingly fell to the ground.

Having given such ample details of the cause, rise, and progress of what some zealous protestant writers of the day termed, rather inconsistently, the "Popish Riots," it would be equally tedious and supererogatory to enter into a lengthened account of the trial of the individual upon whom government charged the *onus* of the fatal events. The proceedings, as may be imagined, engrossed the undivided attention of the whole kingdom, during their progress, but almost the sole point of interest connected with them now, after such a lapse of time, is the speech of the celebrated honourable Thomas Erskine, counsel for the prisoner, which has been regarded as one of the very highest of those flights of overpowering eloquence with which that remarkable man from time to time astonished his audiences, and, indeed, the whole world. The trial of lord George Gordon did not come on until the 5th of February, 1781; the reason of this delay—nearly eight months—we do not find explained.

During his confinement, lord George was frequently visited by his brother the duke, and other illustrious individuals, and every attention was paid to his comfort and convenience. He was accompanied from the Tower to Westminster hall by the duke, and a great number of other noble relatives. His counsel were Mr (afterwards lord) Kenyon, and the honourable Thomas Erskine. The charge against the prisoner was that of high treason, in attempting to raise and levy war and insurrection against the king, &c. His lordship pleaded *not guilty*. The trial commenced at nine o'clock on the morning of Monday the 5th, and at a quarter past five next morning, the jury returned an unqualified verdict of acquittal. Twenty-three witnesses were examined for the crown, and sixteen for the prisoner. The evidence, as may be imagined, was extremely contradictory in its tendency, proceeding, as it did, from individuals whose impressions as to the cause and character of the fatal occurrences, were so very dissimilar,—one party seeing in the conduct of lord George merely that of an unprincipled, callous-hearted, and ambitious demagogue, reckless of consequences to the well-being of society, provided he obtained his own private ends; while another looked upon him as an ill-used and unfortunate patriot, whose exertions to maintain the stability of the protestant religion, and vindicate the rights and privileges of the people, had been defeated by the outrages of a reckless and brutal mob. By the latter party, all the evil consequences and disreputability of the tumults were charged upon the government and civic authorities, on account of the lax state of the police, and the utter want of a properly organized defensive power in the metropolis. A third party (we mean in the kingdom) there was, who viewed lord George merely as an object of compassion, attributing his, certainly unusual, behaviour to an aberration of intellect,—an opinion which numerous subsequent eccentricities in his conduct, have induced many of a later era to adopt.

The speech of Mr Erskine was distinguished for that originality of style and boldness of manner which were the chief characteristics of his forensic displays. One very remarkable passage in it has been considered by his political friends and admirers as the *ne plus ultra* of rhetorical tact and effective energy, although we confess, that, as a precedent, we would reckon the employment of such terms more honoured in the breach than the observance. In reviewing lord George's conduct and deportment during the progress of the unhappy tumults, the orator abruptly broke out with the following emphatic interjection:—"I say, by God, that man is a *ruffian* who will dare to build upon such honest, artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" The effect of this most unexpected and unparalleled figure of oratory, is described by those who heard it to have been perfectly magical. The court, the jury, the bar, and the spectators were for a while spell-bound with astonishment and admiration. It is acknowledged by all, that the speech of Mr Erskine on this occasion was almost the very highest effort of his powerful and nervous eloquence. The speech of Mr Kenyon was likewise remarkable for its ability and effect. Great rejoicings took place on account of his lordship's acquittal, amongst his partisans, particularly in Scotland. General illuminations were held in Edinburgh and Glasgow; congratulatory addresses were voted to him; and £485 subscribed to re-imburse him for the expenses of his trial. Although, however, lord George continued in high favour with the party just named, and took part in most of the public discussions in parliament, as usual, his credit seems to have been irretrievably ruined with all the moderate and sober-minded part of the nation. He was studiously shunned by all his legislative colleagues, and was in such disgrace at court, that we find him detailing to his protestant correspondents at Edinburgh, in language of the deepest mortification, his reception at

a royal levee, where the king coldly turned his back upon him, without seeming to recognize him. Repeated efforts appear to have been made by his relatives at this time, to induce him to withdraw from public life, but without success; and his conduct became daily more eccentric and embarrassing to his friends. It is impossible, indeed, to account for it upon any other ground than that of gradual aberration of mind.

In April, 1787, two prosecutions were brought against Lord George at the instance of the crown; one for preparing and presenting a pretended petition to himself from certain prisoners confined in Newgate, praying him to intercede for them, and prevent their being banished to Botany Bay; the other for a libel upon the queen of France and French ambassador. Mr Wilkins, the printer of the petitions, was also proceeded against. Both pleaded not guilty. It is a somewhat curious fact, that on this occasion Mr Erskine, Lord George's former counsel, appeared against him. Lord George acted as his own defendant, on the score of being too poor to employ counsel. The Newgate petition, evidently his Lordship's production, was a mere farrago of absurdity, treason, and blasphemy, reflecting on the laws, railing at the crown-officers, and condemning his majesty by large quotations from the book of Moses. He was found guilty, as was also Mr Wilkins. Upon the second charge, the gist of which was a design to create a misunderstanding betwixt the two courts of France and England, he was also found guilty. His speech on this last occasion was so extravagant, and contained expressions so indecorous, that the attorney general told him "he was a disgrace to the name of Briton." The sentence upon him was severe enough: upon the first verdict he was condemned to be imprisoned two years,—upon the second, a further imprisonment of three years; at the expiration of which he was to pay a fine of £500, to find two securities in £2500 each, for his good behaviour for fourteen years; and himself to be bound in a recognizance of £10,000. In the interval, however, between the verdict and the passing of the sentence, he took an opportunity of escaping to Holland, where he landed in May. Here, however, he was not allowed to remain long. He was placed under arrest, and sent back from Amsterdam to Harwich, where he was landed in the latter end of July. From that place he proceeded to Birmingham, where he resided till December; having in the meantime become a proselyte to Judaism, and performing rigidly the prescribed rites and duties of that faith. Information having reached government of his place of residence, and the increasing eccentricities of his conduct evidently pointing him out as an improper person to be allowed to go at large, a messenger was despatched from London, who apprehended him and brought him to town, where he was lodged in Newgate. His appearance in court when brought up to receive the sentence he had previously eluded, is described as being miserable in the extreme. He was wrapt up in an old greatcoat, his beard hanging down on his breast; whilst his studiously sanctimonious deportment, and other traits of his conduct, too evidently showed an aberration of intellect. He bowed in silence, and with devout humility, on hearing his sentence. Soon after his confinement, he got printed and distributed a number of treasonable handbills, copies of which he sent to the ministry with his name attached to them. These, like his "prisoners' petition," were composed of extracts from Moses and the prophets, evidently bearing upon the unhappy condition of the king, who was then in a state of mental alienation.

In the following July, 1789, this singular and unhappy being addressed a letter, or petition to the National Assembly of France, in which, after eulogizing the progress of revolutionary principles, he requests of them to interfere on his behalf with the English government to get him liberated. He was answered

by that body, that they did not feel themselves at liberty to interfere ; but he was visited in prison by several of the most eminent revolutionists, who assured his lordship of their best offices for his enlargement. To the application of these individuals, however, lord Grenville answered that their entreaties could not be complied with. Nothing further worthy of mention remains to be told in the career of this unhappy man. After lord Grenville's answer, he remained quietly in prison, occasionally sending letters to the printer of the Public Advertiser, written in the same half-frenzied style as his former productions. In November, 1793, after being confined ten months longer than the prescribed term of his imprisonment, for want of the necessary security for his enlargement, he expired in Newgate of a fever, having been delirious for three days previous to his death.

GORDON, JAMES, a member of the noble family of Gordon, and distinguished for his erudition, was born in the year 1543. Having been sent to Rome for his education, he there became a jesuit, while yet in the twentieth year of his age, and such was his extraordinary progress in learning, that in six years afterwards (1569,) he was created doctor of divinity. He next became professor of languages and divinity, in which capacity he distinguished himself in various parts of Europe, particularly in Rome, Paris, and Bourdeaux. In these duties he was occupied for nearly fifty years, during which time he acquired much reputation for learning and acuteness. Gordon was frequently deputed as a missionary to England and Scotland, and was twice imprisoned for his zeal in attempting to make converts. He was also, on account of his superior abilities, often employed by the general of his order in negotiating their affairs ; a duty for which his penetration and knowledge of the world especially qualified him.

Alegambe describes Gordon as a saint ; but with all his talents and learning, he does not seem to have had any very great pretensions to the honour of canonization, since it is beyond doubt that he led, notwithstanding Alegambe's account of him, an exceedingly dissipated life. He, however, rigidly practised all the austerities of his order, and, with all his irregularities, rose every morning at three o'clock. His only writings, are "*Controversiarum Fidei Epitome*," in three parts or volumes ; the first printed at Limoges, in 1612, the second at Paris, and the third at Cologne, in 1620.

GORDON, ROBERT, of Straloch, an eminent geographer and antiquary, was born at Kinmundy in Aberdeenshire, on the 14th September, 1580. He was the second son of Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg, a gentleman who long stood high in the favour of his sovereign, James VI., as appears, amongst other circumstances, from some curious letters addressed to him by that monarch, in one of which he is laid under contribution, though in the most affectionate terms, for a horse for the king's approaching marriage, and in another is warmly invited to the baptism of the unfortunate Charles I.

Robert Gordon received the first rudiments of his education at Aberdeen, and having passed the usual course of the humanity, mathematical, and philosophical classes, was the *first* graduate of the Marischal university, then recently founded by George earl of Marischal. In 1598, being in his eighteenth year, he was sent to Paris to complete his education. Here he remained for two years. On his father's death, which happened in 1600, he returned to Scotland, and in 1608, having married a daughter of Alexander Irvine of Lenturk, he bought the estate of Straloch, ten miles north of Aberdeen, and now devoted himself to the pursuit of his favourite studies, geography, history, and the antiquities of Britain. To the first of these he seems to have been especially attached, and it was his perseverance, industry, and accuracy in this science, then in an extremely rude state, which first obtained him the celebrity

which he afterwards enjoyed. There were only at this time three maps of Scotland in existence, all of them so rude and inaccurate as to be wholly useless. The infidelity of these sketches had been long known, and was the subject of great and universal complaint. Urged on by this, and the general dissatisfaction, Mr Gordon employed himself in making geographical surveys by *actual* mensuration; a labour which none of his predecessors had ever subjected themselves to. He has, therefore, the merit of being the first who applied this indispensable but tedious and laborious process for securing accuracy in topographical surveys, to Scotland.

One consequence of Mr Gordon's zeal and industry in these patriotic pursuits, was a great extension of his celebrity, which at length even reached the royal ear. In 1641, king Charles was applied to by the celebrated map and atlas publishers, the Bleaus of Amsterdam, for his patronage of an atlas of Scotland, which they were then contemplating, and requesting his majesty to appoint some qualified persons to assist them with information for the intended work; and, in especial, to arrange and amend certain geographic sketches of one Timothy Pont,¹ of which they had been previously put in possession, but in a confused and mutilated state. This task, king Charles, in the following flattering letter, devolved upon Mr Gordon. "Having lately seen certain charts of divers shires of this our ancient kingdom, sent here from Amsterdam, to be corrected and helped in the defects thereof, and being informed of your sufficiency in that art, and of your love both to learning and to the credit of your nation; we have therefore thought fit hereby, earnestly to entreat you to take so much pains as to revise the said charts, and to help them in such things as you find deficient thereuntil, that they may be sent back by the direction of our chancellor to Holland; which, as the same will be honourable for yourself, so shall it do us good and acceptable service, and if occasion present we shall not be unmindful thereof. From our palace of Holyrood house, the 8th October, 1641."

Mr Gordon readily undertook the task thus imposed upon him, and in 1648, the atlas was published with a dedication from Mr Gordon to Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, who had greatly encouraged and forwarded the work. A second edition of this atlas, which still remains the most complete and accurate delineation of Scotland, and its numerous islands, was published in 1655, and a third in 1664.

The work consists of 46 maps, general and particular, with ample descriptions and detached treatises on the antiquities of Scotland. Of such importance was this undertaking considered, that, wild and disordered as the times were, Mr Gordon was during its progress made a special object of the care and protection of the legislature. An act of parliament was passed exempting him from all new taxations, and relieving him from the quartering of soldiers. To carry this law into effect, orders were issued from time to time by the various commanders of the forces in North Britain, discharging all officers and soldiers, as well horse as foot, from troubling or molesting, or quartering on Mr Robert Gordon of Straloch, his house, lands, or tenants, and from levying any public dues on the said Mr Robert Gordon, or on any of his possessions.

The charts exclusively executed by Mr Gordon were: 1st. A chart of Great Britain and Ireland, taken from Ptolemy, and the most ancient Roman authors. 2d. A map of ancient Scotland, as described in the Roman Itineraries. 3d. A map of modern Scotland. 4th. A map of the county of Fife, from actual survey and mensuration. 5th. A map of the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with part of the county of Kincardine. 6th. A large map or geographical view,

¹ Son of Mr Robert Pont, minister of the West Kirk, Edinburgh.

taken from actual survey, of the most inland provinces of Scotland, lying between the river Tay and the Murray frith. 7. A large map, from actual survey, of the most northern, mountainous, and inaccessible parts of Scotland, including part of the island of Sky. To all of these Mr Gordon appended treatises, descriptive of every thing remarkable contained within their various bounds—towns, castles, religious houses, antiquities, rivers, lakes, &c., and occasionally introducing some interesting accounts of the most distinguished families in the different counties.

One of the treatises alluded to is particularly curious, from its containing an attempt to overturn the commonly received opinion as to the ultima Thule of the Romans. This tract, which is entitled "*De Insula Thulo Dissertatio*," endeavours to show that none of the Orkney or Shetland islands, and still less Iceland, answers to Ptolemy's chart of Thule; and Mr Gordon concludes it by giving it as his opinion, that the island of Lewis the most westerly of the Hebrides, is the real Thule of the ancient Romans. Besides these meritorious works, Mr Gordon wrote many detached pieces of much interest and value; none of which, however, though many extracts have been made from them, have yet been published. Amongst the most important of these are, a critical letter in Latin to Mr David Buchanan, containing strictures on the histories of Boyce, Buchanan, and Knox, and on Buchanan's treatise, "*De jure Regni apud Scotos*;" and a preface intended to be prefixed to a new edition of Spottiswood's history. The last work of any importance which he undertook, was a history of the family of Gordon. This work, however, is incorrect in many important particulars, and in many instances erroneous with regard to its historical facts, especially previous to the year 1403. When Mr Gordon undertook this work he was far advanced in years, led a retired life, and had no ready access to those documents and records which alone could have ensured accuracy, circumstances which may be admitted as some apology in the case of a man who had already done so much, and had rendered such important services to his country. Mr Gordon finally closed a long and active life in August, 1661, having then attained the 81st year of his age. It is much to be regretted, that he did not, as he appears to have contemplated, write an account of his own times, which embraces one of the most important periods of Scottish history. There was no one better fitted for this task, as well from the talents which he possessed, as from the uncommon opportunities which he enjoyed, of studying the leading characters and events of these stirring times, for his superior judgment, peaceable demeanour, and generally judicious conduct, gained him the confidence and esteem of all parties, and thus brought him often in contact, as an adviser and mediator, with the chief men of both the factions which then distracted the state. With the view of compiling such a work as has been alluded to, Mr Gordon had collected a vast quantity of interesting documents relative to the Montrose wars. These his son, Mr James Gordon, afterwards employed, in compiling such an account as his father had contemplated. This work, which was never published, and which contains the transactions of the northern part of Scotland beyond the Forth, from 1637 to 1643, is now in the Advocates' Library, at Edinburgh.

As has been already said, Mr Gordon, though residing in the very midst of civil war and commotion, was not only permitted to live in quiet, and to pursue his studies without interruption, but was frequently summoned to attend the meetings of the commissioners appointed by parliament, and by the general assemblies of the church.

One of these invitations from the earl of Marischal and general Middleton, besides showing the importance which was attached to Mr Gordon's advice, is sufficiently curious in itself. It is addressed "to the right honourable, the laird

of Stralloch," and runs as follows :—"Right Honourable, in regard we are called to be here for the time, for taking course for what may concern the public, &c. these are, therefore, to desire that you will be here at Aberdeen on Friday next, the 3d of October, 1645, when we shall meet you there. So looking assuredly for your meeting us, as you will testify your affection to the business, and have us to remain your affectionate friends. (signed) MARISCHAL, JOHN MIDDLETON."

Another extract, still more interesting, from one of many letters addressed to Mr Gordon, by lord Gordon, craving his advice and assistance, will not only show the deference which was paid to his candour and judgment; but will also show how fully they were appreciated by both parties. Lord Gordon, who was afterwards killed at Alford, after earnestly soliciting a meeting for advice, adds, "If I be too far engaged, or be not well advised, my friends and I both may find the prejudice. In conscience this is no draught, but a mere necessity, which I hope you will consider. I do neither envy you in enjoying your furred gown nor the fireside, I promise you, but do earnestly wish to see you."

Besides his other accomplishments, Mr Gordon was a profound classical scholar, and wrote Latin with much readiness and elegance.

GORDON, ROBERT, founder of the hospital in Aberdeen which bears his name, was born about the year 1665. His father, Arthur Gordon, was the ninth son of the celebrated Robert Gordon of Pitlurg, (commonly designed of Stralloch,) and rose to some eminence as an advocate in Edinburgh. In the latter part of his life he settled in Aberdeen, where he died 1680, leaving two children,—the subject of this memoir, and a daughter who was married to Sir James Abercromby of Birkenbog, near Cullen.

With regard to the founder of Gordon's hospital, very little is known with certainty. That he was a gentleman by birth is certain, and that he was a man of parts and education, is generally allowed. He is said to have had a patrimony of about £1100; and, according to some accounts, he spent most of this fortune while travelling on the continent with a friend. According to other accounts, he went to Dantzic, and having engaged there in the mercantile line, realized a considerable sum of money. It is probable that he betook himself to business after having acted the prodigal in the earlier part of his life, and therefore both accounts may be in some measure correct. It is certain, however, that he resided on the continent for a considerable time, and returned to his native country about the beginning of the last century, taking up his residence in Aberdeen. From all that can be learned, he did not, during the remaining part of his life, engage in any sort of business, and he must therefore have brought home with him money to a considerable amount, otherwise we cannot well account for the large fortune of which he was possessed at the time of his death, even taking into account his extreme parsimony. Whether he set his heart upon accumulating wealth previous to his return from abroad, or afterwards, cannot be clearly ascertained. It is said that a disappointment in love was the primary cause of his forming this resolution, and there are not wanting instances of men, who, when they found the god of love unpropitious, have transferred their devotions to the shrine of Mammon. The same disappointment is also said to have determined him to live and die a bachelor—a determination to which he most faithfully adhered. We find in the library of Marischal college a copy of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy which had belonged to him, and which he had purchased in London, as appears from his own hand-writing upon a blank leaf. Might he not have purchased this book to divert his melancholy, while suffering under the pangs of unrequited love?

During the latter part of his life, he carried his parsimonious habits to the utmost extreme. He is said to have lived in a small apartment, which

he rented, denying himself all the comforts and conveniencies of life, and even using its necessaries in the most sparing manner; insomuch, that his whole personal expense, room rent included, did not exceed £5 sterling annually. Many of the anecdotes which have been handed down by tradition, respecting the habits and privations of this singular individual, seem to be nearly the same which are related of certain English misers of celebrity. It is told of him, for instance, that he used to keep himself warm by walking backwards and forwards in his room with a bag of coals on his back, judging, no doubt, that this was a more economical method of procuring heat, than burning the coals. Also, that he sometimes contrived to satisfy the cravings of appetite by going to the market, and tasting a little of the various articles of provision, such as meal, butter, cheese, &c., by way of ascertaining their quality before he should make any purchase. Another anecdote is recorded of him, which seems less incredible. A particular friend of his who was in the way of spending an evening with him occasionally, (for he was naturally of a social disposition,) was so highly honoured that, as often as the meeting took place, a small rush-light was produced to enliven the scene. One evening, however, the same friend perceiving the rays of the moon shining brightly into the apartment, observed, no doubt with the view of ingratiating himself more with his host, that it was a pity to waste the candle when the moonlight was quite sufficient. The hint was not lost, and afterwards when the two friends met, the moon was laid under contribution to furnish the necessary light, as often as she could afford it.

Yet although avarice had taken a strong hold of his mind, and subjected him to the most severe privations, it was never able fully to eradicate the natural sociability of his disposition, or to destroy his relish for the luxuries and enjoyments of life. for he is said to have mixed in society as often as he could do so without affecting his purse, and to have indulged pretty freely in the pleasures of the table, when the banquet was furnished by another. As he was a person of shrewdness and intelligence, and one who had seen a good deal of the world, and was also known to possess wealth, it may be supposed he was not an unwelcome guest at the table of many of his fellow citizens.

It has been asserted by some, that Mr Gordon's parsimonious habits arose from the design which he had formed, of founding and endowing an hospital for the benefit of the male children of the poorer class of citizens; and we should be glad to be able to establish the truth of this assertion; but from all we can find, it was not till a considerable time after the desire of amassing wealth by every possible means had taken possession of his mind, that he entertained the benevolent design above alluded to. Yet we are certain, that this design was formed by him a number of years previous to his death, for so it is clearly stated in the preamble to the deed of mortification. This we cannot help looking upon as a redeeming circumstance in his character; for however much we may blame his parsimonious habits, considered in an abstract point of view, yet when we know that they led him to form so noble and so benevolent a design, and to cherish this design for years, should not charity incline us to believe that his better principles and feelings had at length overcome the mere sordid love of gain? Severe animadversions have been passed upon his character, on account of his having bequeathed no part of his fortune to his poorer relations; but before we pass judgment upon him on this account, we ought to know all the circumstances of the case: nor do we see why there was any strictly moral obligation upon him, as there was certainly none of a legal nature, to bestow upon his relations any part of that wealth which he had acquired by his own industry. At all events the best of men have acted in a similar manner; and when we

take into account the invaluable and extensive benefits which he conferred on the public by so acting, we should pause before we condemn his seeming want of natural affection. While conversing on one occasion with the provost of Aberdeen, on the subject of the settlement which he was about to make, the latter is said to have hinted to him that he ought to remember his relations as well as the public; but this, instead of having the desired effect, drew from him the following severe, but we think well-merited rebuke. "What have I to expect, sir, when you, who are at the head of the town of Aberdeen's affairs, plead against a settlement from which your citizens are to derive so great benefits?"

The deed of mortification for founding and endowing the hospital, was drawn up and signed by him, on the 13th December, 1729. By this deed he transferred in favour of the provost, bailies, and town council of the burgh of Aberdeen, together with the four town's ministers, and their successors in their respective offices, the sum of £10,000 sterling, or such sum or sums as his effects might amount to at his death, in trust for erecting and maintaining an hospital, to be called Robert Gordon's Hospital, for educating and maintaining indigent male children, and male grandchildren of decayed merchants, and brethren of guild of the burgh of Aberdeen, of the name of Gordon, in the first place, and of the name of Menzies in the second, (the nearest relations of the mortifier of the names of Gordon and Menzies, being always preferred,) and the male children of any other relations of the mortifier that are of any other name, in the third place, to be preferred to others. After these, male children, or male grandchildren, of any other merchants or brethren of guild of Aberdeen, to be admitted; and after them the sons or grandsons of tradesmen or others, under certain restrictions mentioned in the deed. The provost, bailies, town council, and the four town's ministers, and their successors, were appointed perpetual patrons and governors. A certain sum of money was appointed to be laid out in erecting the building, but no boys were to be admitted till the intended sum of £10,000 sterling, was made good by the accumulation of interest. An appendix to the deed of mortification was executed by the founder, on the 19th September, 1730, containing a few trifling alterations. His death took place in January, 1732, in consequence, it is said, of his having eaten to excess at a public entertainment; but the accounts on this subject are contradictory, and therefore entitled to little credit. His executors buried him with great expense and pomp, and it is likely that the occasion was one of joy rather than of mourning. Mr Gordon was rather tall in person, and of a gentlemanly appearance, if we may judge from an original portrait of him in the hospital. That he was a person of more than ordinary intelligence and good sense, would appear from the excellent regulations which he framed for the management of the hospital; and we are also inclined to believe him well imbued with religious principles and feeling, from the anxiety which he manifests, and the ample provision which he makes in the deed of mortification, for the support and encouragement of true religion and good morals, in the institution which he founded.

His exclusion of females from any office whatever in his projected institution, has been ascribed to an utter antipathy which he entertained towards the sex in general; but we do not see how it necessarily follows, that he framed such a regulation from any antipathy to the fair sex; we rather think it may be accounted for on very different grounds. In the first place, he determined that the hospital should be for the maintenance of boys alone, who were to be admitted not under eight years of age and not above eleven, and might remain till they were sixteen. In the second place, he resolved that the teachers should be all unmarried men, and for this many good reasons may be given, besides the example

of many similar institutions. It would then naturally enough occur to him, that if female servants were admitted, opportunities of forming improper connexions would be thus afforded, and the morals of the institution, even of the youth, would thereby be corrupted; and, hence, that the most effectual way of guarding against such evils, would be to remove as much as possible every temptation out of the way. The view which we have taken of the founder's design, in excluding females from his institution, receives no small degree of support from the fact, that general Anderson, founder of the Elgin institution, at one time entertained a similar design, and for reasons similar to those we have stated, although he afterwards abandoned it, as he found that it could hardly be carried into execution in the present state of society.

At Mr Gordon's death, his property was found to amount to £10,300 sterling, a very large sum in those times. His executors immediately proceeded to the execution of their important trust, and erected an hospital (according to a plan designed by Mr William Adam, architect, Edinburgh, father of the more celebrated architect, Robert Adam;) and the place chosen for the building was the ground which formerly belonged to the Black Friars, situated on the north side of the School-hill. The expense of the erection was £3300; and as this had trounced considerably on the original funds, the plan of the founder could not be carried into effect until the deficiency was made up by the accumulation of interest on the remainder of the fund. Owing also to the disturbances which took place in 1745-6, and certain other causes, the hospital was not ready for the reception of boys till 1750; but the funds by this time had accumulated to £14,000. The number of boys at first admitted was thirty; but as the funds continued to increase, owing to good management, by purchases of lands, rise in rents, and other causes, the number was increased from time to time. At present the number of boys in the house is one hundred and eight; and as a large legacy, which was lately left to the institution, will soon become available, a still greater number will be admitted. A head master superintends the establishment, and three teachers carry on the education of the boys. The branches taught are—English, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, French, geography, and mathematics. Church-music and drawing are also taught by masters who attend the hospital at stated hours. The funds are at present in a most flourishing state, and the yearly revenue approaches to £3000.

Very extensive additions have lately been made to the original building; and the hospital, as it now stands, presents a spacious and imposing appearance. Accommodations are furnished for about two hundred and forty boys, although many years must elapse before such a number can be admitted, unless the funds be greatly augmented by additional bequests. The concerns of this invaluable institution have been all along managed in a praiseworthy manner, and the benefits arising from it have been visible in numerous instances. How many children have, by means of it, been rescued from poverty, ignorance, and vice—have been fed, clothed, educated, and enabled to pursue honourable callings, acquiring wealth, and often rising to some rank in society—the citizens of Aberdeen can tell. There are, it must be confessed, evils and defects attending all institutions of this kind, in so far as they may be regarded as an engine for the moral and religious training of youth. These evils and defects the best management cannot altogether remedy, because they arise from the very nature of the institutions themselves, inasmuch as these withdraw children from the paternal roof, and cut them off from the maternal care, tenderness, and admonition. It will now be readily allowed, that the moral and religious culture of the young mind is best conducted under the eye of a parent, provided that parent perform aright a parent's duty; and this is the plan which nature herself has established.

The best way to form a proper estimate of the benefits to be derived from such institutions, is to consider what the proper objects of them would have been had they never enjoyed their advantages. In many instances they would have grown up in poverty and vice, without moral and religious culture, and without the very elements of education. Taking this view of the case, we shall, in a great measure, be disposed to overlook the defects we have mentioned; seeing that these defects are greatly overbalanced by the many advantages which are secured by such institutions to their proper objects, and, at the same time, we shall not be in danger of overrating the advantages themselves, as many are apt to do.

GORDON, THOMAS, an eminent party writer, and translator of Tacitus, is supposed to have been born in the parish of Kells, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, about the end of the seventeenth century. His father, the representative of an ancient family, descended from the Gordons of Kenmuir, was proprietor of Gairloch in that parish. Thomas Gordon is said to have received a university education in his own country, and then to have gone to London as a literary adventurer: joining these circumstances with his avowed infidelity, it is probable that he was a renegade student of divinity, or licentiate—almost always an unprincipled and odious character. In London, he supported himself at first as a teacher of languages, and gradually became an author by profession. He is said to have been employed as a political writer by the earl of Oxford, in the support of the tory ministry of which that nobleman was the head; but this hardly corresponds with the other dates of his literary exertions, for Mr Gordon appears to have written nothing of which the title has been commemorated, till he formed an intimacy with Mr Trenchard; and, on the 20th of January, 1720, commenced in conjunction with that individual, a weekly political sheet called “the Independent Whig.” If Gordon wrote in the reign of queen Anne, what was he doing in the course of the six intervening years? Nor is it of small importance to his reputation that this point should be settled, as he became a distinguished patriot, and a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole—the very reverse, in every respect, of what he is said to have been in the days of queen Anne’s tory ministry. It is our own opinion that the latter allegation is not well founded; it does not appear in the original memoir of Gordon in the *Biographia Britannica*, 1766, an article evidently written by a person that must have known himself, or at least his surviving family; that sketch represents him in the more probable character of a young man taken into employment by Mr Trenchard as an amanuensis, and subsequently so much improved by the conversation and instructions of his employer, as to be fitted to enter into a literary partnership with him as an independent patriotic writer. Thus we see much cause to relieve the memory of this clever person from no small share of the odium which has been cast upon it by subsequent biographical writers.

Trenchard, the partner of Gordon, was a political writer of some standing, and no small influence. It was in consequence of a pamphlet from his pen, that the parliament obliged king William to send home his Dutch guards; a proceeding which is said to have moved that grave monarch to tears, and almost induced him to go back to Holland himself. Mr Trenchard was the author of a work which appeared in 1709, under the title of “the Natural History of Superstition,” and held the office of commissioner of the forfeited estates in Ireland. His acquaintance with Gordon appears to have been commenced without the formality of an introduction. “From a perfect stranger to him,” says the latter, “and without any other recommendation than a casual coffee-house acquaintance, and his own good opinion, he took me into his favour and care, and into as high a degree of intimacy as ever was shown by one man to another.

This was the more remarkable," continues Gordon, "and did me the greater honour, as he was naturally as shy in making friendships, as he was eminently constant to those which he had already made." The *Independent Whig*, which seems to have been their first joint production, was continued for a year, stopping in January, 1721. Before its conclusion, namely in November, 1720, the two writers had begun a series of letters signed *Cato*, in the *London*, and afterwards in the *British Journal*, which was continued almost to the death of Mr Trenchard, an event that happened in December, 1723. A new edition of the *Independent Whig*, including a renewed series published by Gordon, after Mr Trenchard's death, appeared in two volumes, 12mo. A similar collection of *Cato's Letters*, appeared in four volumes, and went into a fourth edition in 1737.

Of the *Independent Whig*, Mr Murray thus speaks in his *Literary History of Galloway*. "It is a fortunate circumstance, that this work is known only by name; for it is disfigured by sentiments which are deserving of great reprobation. It was more immediately directed against the hierarchy of the church of England; but it was also meant, or at least has a direct tendency to undermine the very foundation of a national religion, under any circumstances, and to bring the sacred profession, if not religion itself, into contempt. The sacerdotal office, according to this book, is not only not recommended in scripture, but is unnecessary and dangerous; ministers of the gospel have ever been the promoters of corruption and ignorance, and distinguished by a degree of arrogance, immorality, and a thirst after secular power, that have rendered them destructive of the public and private welfare of a nation. 'One drop of priesthood,' say they, 'is enough to contaminate the ocean.'

"The object of *Cato's Letters*," continues Mr Murray, "is nearly the same with that of the *Independent Whig*—with this difference, that its theological and ecclesiastical discussions are much blended with political disquisitions. It was, indeed, directed particularly against the South Sea scheme; the knavery and absurdity of which our authors had the merit of exposing, at a time when almost the whole nation was intoxicated with dreams of wealth and independence, which it artfully cherished, and by which so many were ruined and betrayed.

"Notwithstanding the insuperable objections we have stated to the most of the principles of these works, they are characterized, we must confess, by no mean portion of talents and learning. The authors seem always masters of the subjects of which they treat, and their discussions are clear, close, and vigorous.

"Like every person who, in any way, attempts to undermine the welfare and interests of society, Gordon and Trenchard laid claim to great purity of intention. According to their own statement, they formed the only two wise, patriotic, and independent men of the age in which they lived. 'As these letters,' says Gordon, in his preface, 'were the work of no faction or cabal, nor calculated for any lucrative or ambitious ends, or to serve the purposes of any party whatsoever; but attacked falsehood and dishonesty, in all shapes and parties, without temporizing with any, but doing justice to all, even to the weakest and most unfashionable, and maintaining the principles of liberty against the practices of most parties: so they were dropped without any sordid composition, and without any consideration, save that it was judged that the public, after its terrible convulsions, was again become calm and safe.'"

After the death of Mr Trenchard, his widow, after the manner of ladies in a more expressly commercial rank of life, became the second wife of her husband's journeyman and partner, Mr Gordon,—apparently induced to take this step by the usefulness of Gordon in managing her affairs. By this lady, who survived him, and was living in 1766, he had several children. His circumstances were now very easy and agreeable, and he appears to have contemplated

tasks which required leisure, and promised to give him a permanent fame. A translation of Tacitus executed by him, (the third printed in the English language,) with discourses taken from foreign commentators and translators of that historian, appeared in 1728, two volumes folio; and the subscription being patronized by Sir Robert Walpole, it proved a very lucrative speculation. Of this work, one writer speaks as follows:—"No classic was ever perhaps so miserably mangled. His (Gordon's) style is extremely vulgar, yet affected, and abounds with abrupt and inharmonious periods, totally destitute of any resemblance to the original; while the translator fancied he was giving a correct imitation."¹ Another writer, adverts to it in very different terms. "Though it is now," says Mr Murray,² "in a great degree superseded by the elegant translation of Mr Murphy, it is nevertheless a work of no inconsiderable degree of merit. Mr Gordon probably understood his author better than any who have presented him to the world in an English dress; and the only objection that has been made to the work, even by Murphy himself, is, that he foolishly attempted to accommodate the English language to the elliptical and epigrammatic style of the Roman historian." Gordon afterwards published a translation of Sallust in the same style as his version of Tacitus.

During the long period of Walpole's administration, the subject of this memoir acted as his literary supporter, enjoying in return either a regular pay, or the office of first commissioner of wine licenses. After his death, which happened on the 28th of July, 1750, two collections of his fugitive writings appeared under the respective titles of "A Cordial for Low Spirits," and "The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken;" works which had better, both for his own fame and the welfare of society, been suppressed. Finally, a volume entitled "Sermons on Practical Subjects, addressed to different characters," appeared in 1788.

GORDON, WILLIAM, of Earlston, a zealous defender of the covenant, and this by inheritance as well as principle, being lineally descended from Mr Alexander Gordon, who entertained some of the followers of John Wickliffe, the first of the English reformers—reading to them, in their secret meetings in the wood of Airds, a New Testament translated into English, of which he had got possession.

As the subject of this notice, however, was—notwithstanding his zeal in the cause of the covenant, and his steady and warm friendship for those who adhered to it—himself a retired and peaceful man, little of any interest is left on record regarding him. And, excepting in one of the last acts of his life, he mingled little with the public transactions of the period in which he lived. So far, however, as his personal influence extended, he did not fail to exhibit, both fearlessly and openly, the religious sentiments which he entertained. He would give no lease of his lands to any one, whatever they might offer, but on condition of their keeping family worship; and he was in the habit of meeting his tenants at a place appointed, every Sunday, and proceeding with them to church. He had also acquired a reputation for his skill in solving cases of conscience, of which some curious enough instances are to be found in Wodrow's *Analecta*, a manuscript work already more than once referred to in the present publication. His first public appearance, in connexion with the faith to which he was so zealously attached, occurred in the year 1663, soon after the restoration of Charles II. An episcopal incumbent having been appointed by the bishop to the church of Dalry, to which Mr Gordon had a right of patronage, he resisted the appointment, on the twofold ground of its being contrary to the

¹ Chalmers's General Biographical Dictionary, xvi. 107.

² Literary History of Galloway, second edition, 182.

religious tenets of the congregation to admit an episcopal minister, and an invalidation of his own private right as patron. For this contumacy he was charged to appear before the council; but not obeying the summons, he was soon after charged a second time, and accused of keeping conventicles and private meetings in his house, and ordered to forbear the same in time coming. Disobeying this also, as he had done the first, he was immediately after sentenced to banishment, and ordered to quit the kingdom within a month, and bound to live peaceably during that time, under a penalty of £10,000. Still disobeying, Gordon was now subjected to all the hardships and rigours of persecution. He was turned out of his house by a military force, and compelled to wander up and down the country like many others of his persecuted brethren. In the meantime the battle of Bothwell Bridge took place, and Gordon, unaware of the defeat of his friends, was hastening to join the ranks, when he was met, not far from the field of battle, by a party of English dragoons, by whom, on refusing to surrender, he was instantly killed. The troubles of the times preventing his friends from removing his body to the burial place of his family, he was interred in the church-yard of Glassford, where a pillar was afterwards erected to his memory.

GOW, NATHANIEL, who, as a violinist and composer, well deserves a place in any work intended to perpetuate the names of Scotsmen who have done honour or service to their country, was the youngest son of the celebrated Neil Gow. His mother's name was Margaret Wiseman, and he was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 28th May, 1766. Nathaniel, and his three brothers, William, John, and Andrew, having all given early indications of musical talent, adopted music as a profession, and the violin, on which their father had already gained so much reputation, as the instrument to which their chief study was to be directed. All the brothers attained considerable eminence, and some of them acquired a fortune by the practice of this instrument; but viewing all the circumstances applicable to each, it will not be looked on as invidious or partial, when we say, that Nathaniel must be considered the most eminent of his family or name, not only as a performer and composer, but as having, more than any other, advanced the cause and popularity of our national music during his time, and provided, by his publications, a permanent repository of Scottish music, the most complete of its kind hitherto given to the world.

Nathaniel was indebted to his father for his first instructions. He commenced on a small violin commonly called a *kit*, on which his father Neil had also made his first essay, and which is still preserved in the family. At an early age he was sent to Edinburgh, where he continued the study of the violin, first under Robert M'Intosh, or Red Rob, as he was called, until the latter, from his celebrity, was called up to London. He next took lessons from M'Glashan, better known by the appellation of king M'Glashan, which he acquired from his tall stately appearance, and the showy style in which he dressed; and who besides was in high estimation as an excellent composer of Scottish airs, and an able and spirited leader of the fashionable bands. He studied the violoncello under Joseph Reneagle, a name of some note in the musical world, who, after a long residence in Edinburgh, was appointed to the professorship of music at Oxford. With Reneagle he ever after maintained the closest intimacy and friendship. The following laconic letter from the professor in 1821, illustrates this:—
 “Dear Gow, I write this to request the favour of you to give me all the particulars regarding the ensuing coronation, viz.—Does the crown of Scotland go? Do the trumpeters go? Do you go? Does Mrs Gow go? If so, my wife and self will go; and if you do not go, I will not go, nor my wife go.” Gow's

first professional appearance, it is believed, was in the band conducted by king M^cGlashan, in which he played the violoncello. After the death of M^cGlashan, he continued under his elder brother William Gow, who succeeded as leader, a situation for which he was well fitted by his bold and spirited style; but having been cut off about the year 1791, at the early age of forty, Nathaniel took his place, and maintained it for nearly forty years, with an eclat and success far beyond any thing that ever preceded or followed him.

So early as 1782, when he could not have been more than sixteen years of age, Gow was appointed one of his majesty's trumpeters for Scotland, a situation which required only partial attendance and duty, being called on only to officiate at royal proclamations, and to accompany the justiciary judges on their circuits for a few weeks, thrice in each year. The salary is small, but it is made up by handsome allowances for travelling expenses, so that in all it may yield the holder about £70 per annum. This situation he held to the day of his death, although during some of his later years, he was forced to employ a substitute, who drew a considerable portion of the emoluments.

He had for many years previously, by assuming the lead of the fashionable bands, become known not only as an excellent violin player, but as a successful teacher, and as having arranged and prepared for publication the first three numbers of the collection of reels and strathspeys published by his father. So much, however, and so quickly did he advance in reputation after this, and so generally did he become acquainted with the great and fashionable world, that in 1796, without giving up or abating his lucrative employment as leader, he commenced business as a music-seller on an extensive scale, in company with the late Mr Wm. Shepherd; and for fifteen or sixteen years, commanded the most extensive business perhaps ever enjoyed by any house in the line in Scotland. In 1813, however, after his partner's death, the business was wound up, and whatever profits he may have drawn during the subsistence of the partnership, he was obliged to pay up a considerable shortcoming at its close.

It was in 1799 that he continued the work commenced by his father and himself; and from that time till 1824, in addition to the three first collections, and two books of Slow Airs, Dances, Waltzes, &c., he published a fourth, fifth, and sixth Collection of Strathspeys and Reels; three volumes of Beauties, being a re-publication of the best airs in the three first collections, with additions,—four volumes of a Repository of Scots Slow Airs, Strathspeys, and Dances—two volumes of Scots Vocal Melodies, and a Collection of Ancient Curious Scots Melodies, besides a great many smaller publications, all arranged by himself for the harp, piano forte, violin, and violoncello. During the life of his father, he was assisted by him, and the first numbers were published as the works of Neil Gow and Son. Many collections had been published previously by ingenious individuals, the best of which, perhaps, was that of Oswald; but Gow's collections, beyond all dispute, are the most extensive and most complete ever submitted to the public; embracing not only almost all that is good in others, but the greater part of the compositions of Neil and Nathaniel Gow, and other members of that musical family.

After an interval of a few years, Gow commenced music-seller once more, in company with his only son Neil, a young man of amiable and cultivated mind, who had received a finished education at Edinburgh and Paris for the profession of surgeon, but who, finding no favourable opening in that overstocked calling, and having a talent and love for music, abandoned it and joined his father. This young gentleman, who was the composer of the beautiful melody of "Bonny Prince Charlie," and a great many others, was not long spared to his father and friends, having been cut off by a lingering disease in 1823. The

business was afterwards continued until 1827 ; but, wanting a proper head—Gow himself being unable to look after it—it dwindled away ; and poor Gow, after a long life of toil, during which he had gathered considerable wealth, found himself a bankrupt at a time when age and infirmity prevented him from doing anything to retrieve his fortunes.

It is difficult to describe the influence, success, and reputation of Nathaniel Gow, during all the time he conducted the fashionable bands in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland ; but certain it is, that in these respects he stands at the head of all that ever trode in the same department. Not only did he preside at the peers' balls, Caledonian Hunt balls, and at the parties of all the noble and fashionable of Edinburgh, but at most of the great meetings and parties that took place throughout Scotland ; and in several instances he was summoned to England. No expense deterred individuals or public bodies from availing themselves of his services ; and it appears from his memorandum books, that parties frequently paid him from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guineas, for attending at Perth, Dumfries, Inverness, &c. with his band. One of the first objects in the formation of fashionable parties, was to ascertain if Gow was disengaged, and they would be fixed, postponed, or altered, to suit his leisure and convenience. He visited London frequently, although he resisted many invitations to settle there permanently. In the year 1797, when in London, the present duke of Gordon, then marquis of Huntly, got up a fashionable ball for him, which was so well attended, that after paying all expenses, £130 was handed over to Mr Gow. He was in the habit, too, during every visit to the capital, of being honoured by invitations to the private parties of his late majesty, George IV., when prince of Wales and prince regent ; on which occasions he joined that prince, who was a respectable violoncello player, in the performance of concerted pieces of the most esteemed composers. In 1822, when his majesty visited Scotland, Gow was summoned, with a select portion of the musical talent of Edinburgh, to Dalkeith palace, and the king evinced his enduring recollection of the musician's visits to him in London, by quitting the banquet table to speak to him ; ordering at the same time a goblet of generous wine to the musician, and expressing the delight he experienced not only on that, but many former occasions, in listening to his performances. Gow was overcome by his majesty's familiar address, and all he could do was to mutter in a choked manner, " God bless your majesty." At the peers' ball, and the Caledonian Hunt ball, his majesty took pleasure in expressing the satisfaction he derived from Gow's music ; so that when the latter rendered his account for his band, he added, " my own trouble at pleasure, or nothing, as his majesty's approbation more than recompensed me."

Gow had an annual ball at Edinburgh during all the time he was leader of the bands ; and, until a few years before his retirement, these were attended by all the fashion and wealth of the country, there being frequently above one thousand in the room, many of whom, who were his patrons, did not stint their contributions to the mere price of their tickets. He received, besides, many compliments beyond the mere charge for professional labour. At his ball in 1811, the present earl of Dalhousie, who was his staunch supporter on all occasions, presented him with a massive silver goblet, accompanied by the following note :—" An old friend of Gow's requests his acceptance of a cup, in which to drink the health of the thousands who would wish, but cannot attend him to-night." He was presented with a fine violoncello by Sir Peter Murray of Ochertyre, and a valuable Italian violin by the late Sir Alexander Don.

While his evenings were occupied at the parties of the great, his days were not spent in idleness. He had as his pupils the children of the first families in

the country, for the violin and piano-forte accompaniment; from whom he received the highest rate of fees known at the time; indeed, it appears from his books, that at one time he went once a week to the duke of Buccleugh's at Dalkeith palace, a distance of only six miles, and received two guineas each lesson, besides travelling expenses.

Although engaged, as already said, in the most extensively patronized musical establishment in Scotland, it is questionable if he ever at any time realized profit from it, while it is certain, that towards the close he was a great loser; indeed, it can seldom be otherwise where the proprietor has other avocations, and leaves the management to his servants. But from his balls, teaching, and playing, the emoluments he derived were very great, and he was at one time worth upwards of £20,000; but this was ultimately swept away, and he was forced, while prostrated by a malady from which he never recovered, to appeal to his old patrons and the public for their support, at a ball for his behoof in March, 1827, which he did by the following circular: "When I formerly addressed my kind patrons and the public, I had no other claim than that which professional men generally have, whose exertions are devoted to the public amusement. By a patronage the most unvarying and flattering; I was placed in a situation of comfortable independence, and I looked forward without apprehension, to passing the decline of my days in the bosom of my family, with competence and with happiness. Unfortunately for me, circumstances have changed. By obligations for friends, and losses in trade, my anxious savings have been gradually wasted, till now, when almost bed-ridden, unable to leave my house, or to follow my profession, I am forced to surrender the remnant of my means to pay my just and lawful creditors. In this situation some generous friends have stepped forward and persuaded me, that the recollection of my former efforts to please, may not be so entirely effaced, as to induce the public to think that my day of distress should pass without notice, or without sympathy."

The appeal was not in vain—the ball was crowded, and handsome tokens of remembrance were sent by many of his old friends, so that nearly £300 was produced. The ball was continued annually for three years afterwards, and though not so great as the first, they still yielded sufficient to prove the deep sympathy of the public, and to afford him a consolation and support in his hour of trial and sickness. It should not be omitted, that the noblemen and gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt, who had, during all his career, been his warmest patrons, voted fifty pounds per annum to him during his life; and we will be forgiven for lengthening this detail a little, by quoting one letter out of the many hundreds received, which was from his ever-generous friend Mr Maule of Pannure: "Your letter has given me real uneasiness, but although Scotland forgot itself in the case of *Burns*, I hope the present generation will not allow a *Gow* to suffer for the want of those comforts in his old age, to which his exertions for so many years for their amusement and instruction, so well entitle him. My plan is this, that an annuity of £200, should be got by subscription, and if the duke of Athol, lords Breadalbane, Kinnoul, and Gray, (all Perthshire noblemen,) would put their names at the top of the list, it would very soon be filled up; this in addition to an annual ball at Edinburgh, which ought to produce at least £200 more, would still be but a moderate recompense for the constant zeal, attention, and civility, which you have shown in the service of the public of Scotland during a long period of years. I, for one, shall do my part, because I never can forget the many happy hours I have passed, enlivened by the addition of your incomparable music." The subscription did not take place, but Mr Maule did *his part* indeed, for every year brought a kind letter and a substantial accompaniment.

In estimating the professional character of Nathaniel Gow, it will be more just to his memory to consider his merits in that department which he made his peculiar province, than as a general musician; for although he was well acquainted with the compositions of the great masters, and joined in their performance, and taught them to his pupils, yet his early aspirations, and his more mature delight and study, were directed to the national music of Scotland. As a performer he had all the fire and spirit of his celebrated father in the quick music, with more refined taste, delicacy, and clearness of intonation in the slow and plaintive melodies. To an equally fine ear, and deep feeling of the beauties and peculiarities of Scottish melody, he added the advantages of a more general cultivation of musical knowledge, with more varied and frequent opportunities of hearing the most classical compositions, executed by the most able performers. These, while they did not tempt him to sacrifice any of the character or simplicity of his native music, enabled him to give a taste and finish to the execution of it; which placed him, by general and ungrudging consent, as the master spirit of that branch or department which he had selected, and in which, for a long course of years, he walked in unapproachable triumph. There are many living contemporaries to whom less than even the little we have said, will be necessary to make them concur in this statement; those who never listened to his playing, can only be referred to the universal subjugation of the world of fashion, taste, and pleasure, to his sway for so long a period, as a pretty certain testimony in support of our humble opinion.

As a composer, his works remain to support his claims. He has published in his collections, and in sheets, upwards of two hundred original melodies and dancing tunes, and has left nearly a hundred in manuscript; which, along with his more recent collections, are now the property of Messrs Robertson of Prince's Street, Edinburgh. Of these we may only refer to a very few—his "Caller Herring," which was so much admired, that it was printed in London, and imitated by celebrated composers—"Sir George Clerk," and "Lady Charlotte Durham," as specimens of his slow compositions,—and to "the Miller of Drone," "Largo's Fairy Dance," and "Mrs Wemyss of Castlehill," to which last air the song of "St Patrick was a Gentleman," is sung, as specimens of his lively pieces. There are many of our finest melodies, of which the composers are *unknown*; but we are persuaded that few will contradict us when we say, that from the number and talent of his compositions, no *known* Scottish composer, not even his celebrated father; can contest the palm with him, as the largest and ablest contributor to the already great stock of our national music.

Independently of these, he has claims upon our gratitude, not only for perpetuating, in his very ample collections, so large a proportion of the scattered gems of national music; but for giving it, during his whole career, such prevalence and eclat, by his admirable execution, and constant encouragement, and exhibition of its spirit and beauty to the public. In all these respects he is entitled to the first praise as its greatest conservator and promoter. It is no doubt true, that of late years the introduction of foreign music and dances, has for a time neutralized his exertions, and kept somewhat in abeyance the native relish for our own music and dancing. But there are such germs of beauty in the former, and such spirit and character in the latter, that we have little fear of their being soon revived, and replaced in all their wonted freshness and hilarity in their proper station among our national amusements. It is painful to hear some of the young ladies at our parties, reddening with a kind of horror at being asked to join in a reel or country dance, and simpering out, "I can't dance reels—they're vulgar;" at the same time that their attempts at the foreign dances are perhaps little superior to the jolting pirouettes of stuffed dolls,

or pasteboard automatons in a raree show. How different from the time when the first nobles in the land were proud when a reel or strathspey was named after them, and would pay considerable sums for the composition. We have before us a letter of the late duke of Buccleugh to Nathaniel Gow, in which he says—"I wish that at your leisure you would compose [start not, gentle misses!] a *reel* according to the *old style*. It should be *wild*, such as your father would have liked—*highland*,—call it 'the Border Raid;'" and we are happy to learn that the present duke and duchess encourage the resumption of our national dances, whenever they have an opportunity. The neglect of them has no way improved the openness and cheerfulness of our female character.

Nathaniel Gow was a man of great shrewdness and good understanding—generally of a lively companionable turn, with a good deal of humour—very courteous in his manners; though, especially latterly, when misfortune and disease had soured him, a little hasty in his temper. He was a dutiful and affectionate son, as his father's letters abundantly prove—a kind brother, having resigned his share of his father's succession to his sister, who wanted it more than he did at the time; and indulgent and faithful in his duties to his own family. In his person he was tall and "buidly"—and he dressed well, which, added to a degree of courtliness of manner on occasions of ceremony, gave him altogether a respectable and stately appearance. His illness came to a crisis in the beginning of 1831, and finally terminated in his death, on the 17th of January of that year, at the age of sixty-five. He was buried in the Grey-Friars' churchyard; but no stone points out to the stranger, where the Scottish minstrel sleeps.

He was twice married. By his first wife, Janet Fraser, he had five daughters and one son, of whom two of the daughters only survive—Mary, married to Mr Jenkins of London, and Jessie, to Mr Luke, treasurer of George Heriot's Hospital. By his second wife, Mary Hog, to whom he was married in 1814, he had three sons and two daughters, of whom only two survive; John, at present in George Heriot's Hospital, and Augusta, an elegant and accomplished young lady, who, after studying five years in London, has returned to Edinburgh to teach the piano-forte and singing; and who, with a very fine voice, promises to keep up the musical reputation of her family. A spirited likeness of Mr Gow was painted by Mr John Syme of Edinburgh, which, with the portrait of his father Neil, the Dalhousie Goblet, and small kit fiddle, are in the possession of Mrs Luke.

GOW, NEIL, a celebrated violin player and composer of Scottish airs, was the son of John Gow and Catharine M'Ewan, and was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 22d of March, 1727. He was intended by his parents for the trade of a plaid weaver, but discovering an early propensity for music, he began the study of the violin himself, and soon abandoned the shuttle for the bow. Up to the age of thirteen, he had no instructor; but about that time, he availed himself of some lessons from John Cameron, a follower of the house of Grandtully; and soon placed himself at the head of all the performers in the country, although Perthshire then produced more able reel and strathspey players than any other county in Scotland. Before he reached manhood, he had engaged in a public competition there, and carried off the prize, which was decided by an aged and blind, but skilful minstrel, who, in awarding it, said, that "he could distinguish the *stroke of Neil's bow* among a hundred players." This ascendancy he ever after maintained, not only in his native place, but throughout Scotland, where it has been universally admitted that, as a reel and strathspey player, he had no superior, and, indeed, no rival in his own time.

Neil Gow was the first of his family, so far as is known, who rendered the name celebrated in our national music; but his children afterwards proved that,

in their case at any rate, genius and talent were hereditary. Although Neil was born, and lived the whole of a long life in a small village in the Highlands of Perthshire, with no ambition for the honours and advancement which, in general, are only to be obtained by a residence in great cities; and although he was in a manner a self-taught artist, and confined his labours chiefly to what may be considered a subordinate branch of the profession of music; yet he acquired a notoriety and renown beyond what was destined to many able and scientific professors, of whom hundreds have flourished and been forgotten since his time, while his name continues, especially in Scotland, familiar as a household word.

Many causes contributed to this. The chief ones, no doubt, were his unquestioned skill in executing the national music of Scotland, and the genius he displayed in the composition of a great number of beautiful melodies. But these were enhanced in no small degree by other accessory causes. There was a peculiar spirit, and Celtic character and enthusiasm, which he threw into his performances, and which distinguished his bow amid the largest band. His appearance, too, was prepossessing—his countenance open, honest, and pleasing—his figure compact and manly, which was shown to advantage in the tight tartan knee-breeches and hose, which he always wore. There was also an openness and eccentricity in his manner, which, while it was homely, easy, and unaffected, was at the same time characterised by great self-possession and downrightness, and being accompanied by acute penetration into the character and peculiarities of others, strong good sense, and considerable quaintness and humour, and above all, by a perfect honesty and integrity of thought and action, placed him on a footing of familiarity and independence in the presence of the proudest of the land, which, perhaps, no one in his situation ever attained, either before or since. Many who never heard him play, and who are even unacquainted with his compositions, fired by the accounts of those who lived in his time, talk to this day of Neil Gow as if they had tripped a thousand times to his spirit-stirring and mirth-inspiring strains.

Living in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunkeld house, he was early noticed and distinguished by the duke of Athol and his family, which was soon followed by the patronage of the duchess of Gordon, and the principal nobility and gentry throughout Scotland. But while his permanent residence was at Inver, near Dunkeld, he was not only employed at all the balls and fashionable parties in the county, but was in almost constant requisition at the great parties which took place at Perth, Cupar, Dumfries, Edinburgh, and the principal towns in Scotland. So necessary was he on such occasions, and so much was his absence felt, that at one time, when indisposition prevented him attending the Cupar Hunt, the preses called on every lady and gentleman present to "dedicate a bumper to the better health of Neil Gow, a true Scottish character, whose absence from the meeting, no one could sufficiently regret." We have already said, that he lived on terms of great familiarity with his superiors, in whose presence he spoke his mind and cracked his jokes, unawed by either their rank or wealth—indeed, they generally delighted in drawing out his homely, forcible, and humorous observations; and while he, in turn, allowed all good humoured freedoms with himself, he at the same time had sufficient independence to repel any undue exhibition of aristocratic *hauteur*, and has brought the proud man to his cottage with the white flag of peace and repentance, before he would again consent to "wake the minstrel string" in his halls. With the duke of Athol and his family, a constant, kindly, and familiar intercourse was kept up; indeed, so much did the duke keep his rank in abeyance when Neil was concerned, that, when the latter was sitting for his portrait to the late Sir

Henry Raeburn, his grace would accompany him to the sitting, and on leaving the artist, would proceed arm in arm with the musician through Edinburgh, as unreservedly as he would with one of the noble blood of Hamilton or Argyle. The duke and duchess walked one day with Neil to Stanley hill, in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld, when his grace began pushing and struggling with him in a sportive humour, until the latter at last fairly tumbled down the "brae." The duchess running to him, expressed her hope that he was not hurt, to which he answered, "Naething to speak o',—I was the mair idiot to wrestle wi' sic a fule!" at which they both laughed heartily. The duke, lord Lyndoch, and the late lord Melville, one day calling at Neil's house, were pressed to take some shrub. Lord Melville tasted it, and was putting down the glass, when his host said, "ye maun tak' it out, my lord, it's very good, and came frae my son Nathaniel—I ken ye're treasurer o' the navy, but gin ye were treasurer o' the universe, ye maunna leave a drap." The duke at the same time smelling his glass before he drank it, Neil said, "ye need na put it to your nose; ye have na better in your ain cellar, for Nathaniel sends me naething but the best." Being one day at Dunkeld house, lady Charlotte Drummond sat down to the piano-forte, when Neil said to the duchess, "that lassie o' yours, my leddy, has a gude ear." A gentleman present said, "I thought Neil you had more manners than to call her grace's daughter a lassie." To which our musician replied, "What wud I ca' her? I never heard she was a laddie;" which, while it more astonished the gentleman, highly amused the noble parties themselves. On another occasion in Athol house, after supper was announced, a portion of the fashionable party lingered in the ball room, unwilling to forsake the dance. Neil, who felt none of the fashionable indifference about supper and its accompaniments, soon lost patience, and addressing himself to the ladies, cried out, "Gang down to your supper, ye daft limmers, and dinna haud me reelin' here, as if hunger and drouth were unkent in the land—a body can get naething dune for you." These sayings are not repeated so much to support any claim to humour, as to illustrate the license which his reputation, popularity, and honest bluntness of character procured him among the highest of the land.

When at home, during the intervals of his professional labours, he was frequently visited by the gentlemen of the county, as well as by strangers, whose curiosity was excited by the notoriety of his character. They would remain for hours with him, in unconstrained conversation, and partaking of whisky and honey, commonly called Athol brose, or whatever else was going. The late Mr Graham of Orchill, used to sit up whole nights with Neil Gow, playing reels with him, and on one occasion Neil exclaimed, "Troth, Orchill, you play weel;—be thankfu', if the French should overturn our country, you and I can win our bread, which is mair than mony o' the great folk can say." On one occasion, when the duchess of Gordon called for him, she complained of a giddiness and swimming in her head, on which he said, "Faith, I ken something o' that mysel', your grace; when I've been fou the night afore, ye wad think that a birk o' bees were bizzing in my bonnet, the next mornin'."

In travelling he was frequently spoken to by strangers, to whom description had made his dress and appearance familiar. At Hamilton, once, he was accosted by two gentlemen, who begged to know his name, which having told them, they immediately said, "Oh! you are the very man we have come from ---- to see." "Am I," replied Neil, "by my saul, ye're the mair fules; I wadna gang half sae far to see you." On another occasion, when crossing in one of the passage boats from Kirkcaldy to Leith, several gentlemen entered into conversation with him, and being strangers, instead of *Neil*, as was usual, they always addressed him as *Master Gow*. When about to land, the Dunkeld carrier,

happening to be on the pier, said, "Ou, Neil, is this you?" "Whisht man," answered Neil, with a sly expression, "let me land or ye ca' me Neil; I hae got naething but *Maister a' the way o'er*."

There are few professions where persons are more exposed or tempted to habits of indulgence in liquor, than those whose calling it is to minister music to the midnight and morning revel. The fatigue of playing for hours in crowded and heated rooms—at those times, too, which are usually devoted to sleep—requires stimulants; and not a few have fallen victims to habits acquired in such situations. But, though exposed to these temptations as much as any man ever was, Neil Gow was essentially sober and temperate. He never indulged in un-mixed spirits, and when at home, without company, seldom took any drink but water. At the same time, he was of a social disposition, and delighted in the interchange of friendly and hospitable intercourse; and it befits not the truth of our chronicle to deny, that prudence, though often a conqueror, did not on every occasion gain the race with good fellowship, or in plain words, that Neil did not find at the close of some friendly sederunts, "the maut aboon the meal." At least we would infer as much, from an anecdote that has been told of him.—Returning pretty early one morning from Ruthven Works, where he had been attending a yearly ball, he was met with his fiddle under his arm, near the bridge of Almond, by some of his friends who lamented *the length of the road* he had to walk to Inver, when Neil exclaimed, "Deil may care for the *length o' the road*, it's only the *breadth o't* that's fashin' me now." It was, perhaps, with reference to the same occasion, that a friend said to him, "I suspect Neil, ye've been the waur o' drink." "The waur o' drink?" responded the musician, "na! na, I may have been fou, but I ne'er was the waur o't." His son Nathaniel frequently sent him presents of shrub and ale. In acknowledging one of them, he wrote, "I received the box and twenty bottles of ale, which is not good,—more *hop* than faith—too strong o' the water, &c. My compliments to Meg, and give her a guinea, and ask her which of the two she would accept of first."

He was a man most exemplary in all the private relations of life—a faithful husband, an affectionate parent, and a generous friend. In more cases than one, he refused lands which were offered to him at a trifling purchase, and which would have been worth thousands to his successors, and chose the more disinterested part, of giving money to the unfortunate owners to enable them to purchase their lands back. He not only had religion in his heart, but was scrupulous in his external observances. He was constant in his attendance at divine worship, and had family prayers evening and morning in his own house. In regard to his private character altogether, we may quote from a very elegant biographical sketch from the pen of Dr Macknight, who knew him well, and which appeared in the Scots Magazine in 1809. "His moral and religious principles were originally correct, rational, and heartfelt, and they were never corrupted. His duty in the domestic relations of life, he uniformly fulfilled with exemplary fidelity, generosity, and kindness. In short, by the general integrity, prudence, and propriety of his conduct, he deserved, and he lived and died possessing as large a portion of respect from his equals, and of good will from his superiors, as has ever fallen to the lot of any man of his rank."

In a professional point of view, Neil Gow is to be judged according to circumstances. He never had the advantage of great masters, and indeed was almost entirely self-taught. It would be idle to inquire what he might have been had he devoted himself to the science as a study. He did not, so far as is known, attempt the composition of difficult or concerted pieces; and it is believed, did not do much even in the way of arrangement to his own melodies.

He was one of nature's musicians, and confined himself to what genius can conceive and execute, without the intervention of much science—the composition of melodies : and, after all, melody is the true test of musical genius ;—no composition, however philosophical, learned and elaborate, can live, if it wants its divine inspiration, and the science of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart would not have rescued their names from oblivion, had the soul of melody not sparkled like a gem through all the cunning framework and arrangement of their noble compositions. He composed a great number of tunes, nearly a hundred of which are to be found in the collections published by his son Nathaniel at Edinburgh. The greater portion of them are of a lively character, and suited for dancing, such as reels, strathspeys, and quick steps. It would not be interesting in a notice like this to enumerate the titles of so many compositions ; but we may safely refer to the beautiful air of “Locherroch side,” to which Burns wrote his pathetic ballad of “Oh ! stay, sweet warbling woodlark, stay,” and which is equally effective as a quick dancing tune—to the “Lament for Abercainey,” and his “Farewell to Whisky”—as specimens which entitled him to take his place among the best known composers of Scottish music, which our country has produced.

As a performer of Scottish music on the violin, we have already said that he was acknowledged to have been the ablest of his day ; and we cannot do better than once more quote from the biographic sketch written by Dr M'Knight, himself a skilful violinist, and who frequently heard Neil play, to illustrate the peculiar character of his style : “There is perhaps no species whatever of music executed on the violin, in which the characteristic expression depends more on the power of the *bow*, particularly in what is called the *upward* or *returning stroke*, than the Highland reel. Here accordingly was Gow's forte. His bow-hand, as a suitable instrument of his genius, was uncommonly powerful ; and when the note produced by the *up-bow* was often feeble and indistinct in other hands, it was struck in his playing, with a strength and certainty, which never failed to surprise and delight the skilful hearer. As an example, may be mentioned his manner of striking the tenor C, in ‘Athol House.’ To this extraordinary power of the bow, in the hand of great original genius, must be ascribed the singular felicity of expression which he gave to all his music, and the native highland *gout* of certain tunes, such as ‘Tulloch Gorum,’ in which his taste and style of bowing could never be exactly reached by any other performer. We may add, the effect of the *sudden shout*, with which he frequently accompanied his playing in the quick tunes, and which seemed instantly to *electrify* the dancers ; inspiring them with new life and energy, and rousing the spirits of the most inanimate. Thus it has been well observed, ‘the violin in his hands, sounded like the harp of Ossian, or the lyre of Orpheus,’ and gave reality to the poetic fictions, which describe the astonishing effects of their performance.”

Such was the estimation in which Neil Gow was held, that the late Sir Henry Raeburn, the most eminent portrait painter then in Scotland, was employed first to paint his portrait for the county hall of Perth, and afterwards, separate portraits for the duke of Athol, lord Gray, and the honourable Mr Maule of Panmure, besides his portrait, now in possession of his grand-daughter Mrs Luke, and many copies scattered through the country. His portrait has also been introduced into the “View of a Highland Wedding,” by the late Mr Allan, along with an admirable likeness of his brother Donald, who was his steady and constant violoncello.

Neil Gow was twice married—first to Margaret Wiseman, by whom he had five sons, and three daughters. Of these, three sons, and two daughters died

before himself, but not before two of his sons, William and Andrew, had acquired a reputation as violin-players, worthy of the name they bore; the former having succeeded M'Glashan as leader of the fashionable bands at Edinburgh, and the latter having acquired some wealth in London in prosecuting his profession. He was kind and affectionate to all his children, and during the last illness of his son Andrew, he brought him from London. On this subject he wrote, "If the spring were a little advanced and warmer, I would have Andrew come down by sea, and I will come to Edinburgh or Dundee to conduct him home. We will have milk which he can get warm from the cow, or fresh butter, or whey, or chickens. He shall not want for any thing." Andrew's eyes were closed by his father under the roof where he was born. Neil Gow took as his second wife Margaret Urquhart, by whom he had no family, and who predeceased himself a few years. He retained his faculties to the last, and continued to play till within a year or two of his death. About two years before that event, he seemed to feel the decay of his powers, and wrote to his son Nathaniel—"I received your kind invitation to come over to you, but I think I will stay where I am. It will not be long, for I am very sore failed." He died at Inver, where he was born, on the 1st of March, 1807, in the 80th year of his age, after acquiring a competence, which was divided among his children. He left behind him two sons and a daughter: John, who settled in London as leader of the fashionable Scottish bands, and died in 1827, after acquiring a large fortune; Nathaniel, who settled in Edinburgh, and of whom we have given a brief memoir; and Margaret, now the only surviving child, who is at present living in Edinburgh. Neil Gow was buried in Little Dunkeld church, where a marble tablet has been raised to his memory by his sons, John and Nathaniel.

GRAHAM, DOUGAL, the rhyming chronicler of the last rebellion, was probably born early in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, none of the works we have met with give any account of his parentage or early life. It has been said that he was engaged in the rebellion of 1745-46, but without sufficient authority. He had, to use his own words, "been an eye-witness to most of the movements of the *armies*, from the rebels' first crossing the ford of Frew, to their final defeat at Culloden;" but it would seem from this expression, as well as from the recollections of some of his acquaintances, that it was only in the capacity of a follower, who supplied the troops with small wares. But Dougal's aspiring mind aimed at a higher and nobler employment,—the cultivation of the muse; and no sooner was the rebellion terminated by the battle of Culloden, than he determined to write a history of it "in vulgar rhyme." Accordingly, the Glasgow Courant of September 29, 1746, contains the following advertisement: "That there is to be sold by James Duncan, printer in Glasgow, in the Salt-Mercat, the second shop below Gibson's Wynd, a book entitled, A full, particular, and true account of the late rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746, beginning with the Pretender's embarking for Scotland, and then an account of every battle, siege, and skirmish that has happened in either Scotland or England: to which is added, several addresses and epistles to the pope, pagans, poets, and pretender, all in metre, price fourpence. But any booksellers or packmen may have them easier from the said James Duncan, or the author, D. Graham. The like," the advertisement concludes, "has not been done in Scotland since the days of Sir David Lindsay!" This edition is now to be procured *nec prece nec pecunia*; the eighth edition, however, contains a preface by the author, in which he thus states his reasons for undertaking so arduous a task. "First, then, I have an itch for scribbling, and having wrote the following for my pleasure, I had an ambition to have this child

of mine placed out in the world ; expecting, if it should thrive and do well, it might bring credit or comfort to the parent. For it is my firm opinion, that parental affection is as strong towards children of the brain as those produced by natural generation.”—“ I have wrote it in vulgar rhyme, being what not only pleased my own fancy, but what I have found acceptable to the most part of my countrymen, especially to those of common education like myself. If I have done well, it is what I should like, and if I have failed, it is what mankind are liable to. Therefore let cavilers *rather write a better one*, than pester themselves and the public with their criticisms of my faults.” Dougal’s history has been on some occasions spoken of with contempt,—and, as it appears to us, rather undeservedly. The poetry is, of course, in some cases a little grotesque, but *the matter* of the work is in many instances valuable. It contains, and in this consists the chief value of all such productions, many minute facts which a work of more pretension would not admit. But the best proof of its popularity is, that it has run through many editions: the eighth, which is now scarce, was printed at Glasgow in 1808, with a “True Portraiture” of the author. Beneath it are the lines:

“ From brain and pen, O virtue! drop;
Vice! fly as Charlie and John Cope!”

As the book became known, Dougal issued editions “greatly enlarged and improved.” That of 1774, while it contains many additions, is said to want much of the curious matter in the *editio princeps*.

In 1752, Graham styles himself “merchant in Glasgow,” but it would appear that his wealth had not increased with his fame:

“ I have run my money to en’
And have nouthier paper nor pen
To write thir lines,”

Afterwards he became a printer; and it has been affirmed, that, like Buchan, the chronicler of Peterhead, he used to compose and set up his works without ever committing them to writing.¹ The exact date at which he became bellman is not known, but it must have been after 1770. At this time, the situation was one of some dignity and importance: the posting of handbills and the publishing of advertisements were not quite so common; and whether a child had “wandered,”—“salmon, herring, cod, or ling” had arrived at the Broomielaw,—or the grocers had received a new supply of “cheap butter, barley, cheese, and veal,” the matter could only be proclaimed by the mouth of the public crier.

After several years of, it may be supposed, extensive usefulness in this capacity, Dougal was gathered to his fathers on the 20th of July, 1779. An elegy upon the death of that “witty poet and bellman,” written with some spirit, and in the same verse as Ferguson’s elegy upon Gregory, and that of Burns upon “Tam Samson,” was published soon after. We may be allowed to sum up his character in the words of its author:

“ It is well known unto his praise,
He well deserv’d the poet’s bays;
So sweet were his harmonious lays:
Loud sounding fame
Alone can tell, how all his days
He bore that name.

¹ McUre’s Hist. of Glasgow, *new ed.* p. 315.

Of witty jokes he had such store,
 Johnson could not have pleased you more,
 Or with loud laughter made you roar,
 As he could do:
 He had still something no'er before
 Expos'd to view.

Besides his history, Dougal wrote many other poems and songs, some of which, though little known, are highly graphic. They would form a pretty large volume, but it is hardly probable that in this fastidious age any attempt will be made to collect them.

GRAHAME, (REV.) JAMES, the author of "The Sabbath" and other poems, was born in Glasgow on the 22d of April, 1765. He was the son of Mr Thomas Grahame, writer in that city, a gentleman at the head of the legal profession there, and who held a high place in the esteem of his fellow citizens for strict integrity and many amiable qualities. His mother was a woman of very uncommon understanding; and it may be well supposed, that the young bard owed much of that amiable disposition which distinguished him in after-life, to the mild and benevolent tuition of his parents. From them also he imbibed those ultra-liberal opinions on politics, which, on the first breaking out of the French revolution of 1789, found so many supporters in this country, and which Mr Grahame no doubt adopted under a sincere impression that the diffusion of such opinions was likely to benefit the human race. He was educated at the grammar school and university of Glasgow. At this time his father possessed a beautiful villa on the romantic banks of the Cart, near Glasgow, to which the family removed during the summer months; and it is pleasing to remark the delight with which James Grahame, in after years, looked back upon the youthful days spent there. In the "Birds of Scotland," we have the following pleasing remembrances, which show that these days were still green in his memory:

I love thee, pretty bird! for 'twas thy nest
 Which first, unhelped by older eyes, I found;
 The very spot I think I now behold!
 Forth from my low-roofed home I wandered by the
 Down to thy side, sweet Cart, where cross the stream
 A range of stones, below a shallow ford,
 Stood in the place of the now-spanning arch;
 Up from that ford a little bank there was,
 With alder copse and willow overgrown,
 Now worn away by mining winter floods;
 There, at a bramble root, sunk in the grass,
 The hidden prize, of withered field-straws formed,
 Well lined with many a coil of hair and moss,
 And in it laid five red-veined spheres, I found.

James Grahame eminently distinguished himself both at school and college; and we have an early notice of his poetical genius having displayed itself in some Latin verses, which, considering his age, were thought remarkable for their elegance. At this period he was noted among his companions for the activity of his habits, and the frolicsome gayety of his disposition; his character, however, seems to have undergone a change, and his constitution to have received a shock, in consequence of a blow inflicted in wantonness on the back of his head, which ever afterwards entailed upon him occasional attacks of headach and stupor; and there seems to be little doubt, that this blow was ultimately the cause of his death. After passing through a regular academical course of edu-

cation at the university of Glasgow, during which he attended a series of lectures delivered by the celebrated professor Millar, whose opinions on politics were by no means calculated to alter those which his pupil had derived from his father, he was removed to Edinburgh, in the year 1784, where he commenced the study of law under the tuition of his cousin, Mr Laurence Hill, writer to the signet. This was a destination wholly foreign to his character and inclination; his own wishes would have led him to the clerical profession, which was more congenial to his tastes than the busy turmoil of legal avocations; but young Grahame passively acquiesced in the arrangement which his father had made, more from considerations connected with his own means of advancing him in the legal profession, than from regard to the peculiarities of his son's disposition and character.

After having finished his apprenticeship, he was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet, in the year 1791. His prospects of success in business were very considerable, in consequence of the influence possessed by his father, and his other relations; but the death of his father towards the close of the year 1791, seems to have freed him from the restraint which bound him to his profession, and he resumed his original desire of entering the church. For a time, however, the persuasion of his friends induced him to relinquish his intention of changing his profession; and, at length, in the year 1795, in the hope that the avocations of the bar would prove more congenial to his taste, and allow him, during the vacations, greater leisure to indulge his literary propensities, than the more irksome details of the other branch of the profession, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates.

James Grahame, while yet at the university, printed and circulated among his friends a collection of poetical pieces. Of this work no trace is now left except in the memory of the members of his own family, and it is only curious as it seems to have contained a rough draught of those sketches which he afterwards published under the title of the "Rural Calendar." It was in the year 1797, that these pieces appeared in their amended form. Being on a visit to a friend in Kelso when the "Kelso Mail" was commenced, he contributed them anonymously to that newspaper; he afterwards published them, greatly enlarged and improved, in the 12mo edition of his works, in 1807. In the year 1801, he published a dramatic poem, entitled, "Mary, Queen of Scotland;" but his talents were by no means dramatic; and although this production was a great favourite of his own, it is only deserving of attention as containing some beautiful descriptive passages.

In the year 1802, Mr Grahame was married to Miss Grahame, eldest daughter of Richard Grahame, Esq., Annan, a woman of masculine understanding and very elegant accomplishments. She at first endeavoured to discourage her husband's poetical propensities, from the idea that they interfered with his professional duties; but on the discovery that he was the author of the Sabbath, she no longer attempted, or wished, to oppose the original bias of his mind. The Sabbath was published not only anonymously, but the poet even concealed its existence from his dearest relations. The mode which he took to communicate it to his wife presents a very pleasing picture of his diffident and amiable disposition. In relating this anecdote, we shall use the words of one who was very intimate with the poet and his family. "On its publication he brought the book home with him, and left it on the parlour table. Returning soon after he found Mrs Grahame engaged in its perusal; but without venturing to ask her opinion, he continued to walk up and down the room in breathless anxiety, till she burst out in the warmest eulogium on the performance; adding 'Ah James, if you could but produce a poem like this.' The acknowledg-

ment of the authorship, and the pleasure of making the disclosure under such circumstances, may be easily imagined." The Sabbath was subjected to a severe ordeal of criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*; but the critic afterwards made ample atonement to the wounded feelings of the poet and his friends, in reviewing his subsequent work, the *British Georgics*—an example which one cannot but wish that Lord Byron had imitated, by expressing some contrition for the wanton and cruel attack made in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* on the gentle and amiable poet of the Sabbath.

About the year 1806, Mr Grahame published a well written pamphlet on the subject of the introduction of jury trial in civil causes in Scotland, entitled "*Thoughts on Trial by Jury.*" This was a favourite project of his party in politics, about the beginning of the present century; and during the whig administration of 1806-7, a bill was brought into parliament by the ministry for the purpose of extending that mode of trial to Scotland. That bill fell, on the change of administration; but some years afterwards, a bill having the same object was carried through parliament by the succeeding administration; and in 1816, jury trial in civil causes was introduced under certain modifications, and has since been made a permanent part of the civil judicial procedure in this country.

But for the bad health to which he was occasionally subject, Mr Grahame might have enjoyed much happiness, surrounded as he was by his family, to whom he was devotedly attached, and mixing during the winter months on familiar terms with the intellectual and polished society which Edinburgh at all times affords, and which, at the time alluded to, was peculiarly brilliant; while, to vary the scene, he usually spent the summer either at Kirkhill, on the banks of the Esk, or at some other rural retirement. It was at Kirkhill, surrounded with some of the loveliest scenery in Scotland, that he composed "*The Birds of Scotland.*" But in spite of the happiness which such a state of literary ease was calculated to afford, Mr Grahame still looked with longing to the condition of a country clergyman—a vocation which his imagination had invested with many charms. The authority already referred to mentions a circumstance strongly indicative of the constant current of his thoughts:—"The writer will never forget the eager longing with which he surveyed the humble church of Borthwick, on a fine summer evening, when the sun's last rays had gilded the landscape, and rendered every object in nature more sweet and impressive. He cast a look of delighted complacency around the peaceful scene, and said, with an accent of regret, "I wish such a place as that had fallen to my lot." And when it was remarked, that continued retirement might become wearisome, "Oh! no," he replied, "it would be delightful to live a life of usefulness among a simple people, unmolested with petty cares and ceremonies." At length, yielding to his long cherished wish, he entered holy orders as a clergyman of the church of England. After having spent the summer months of 1808, at a pleasant villa in the neighbourhood of Annan, where he composed "*The British Georgics,*" he proceeded to England in the spring following; and after encountering some difficulty, was ordained by Dr Bathurst, bishop of Norwich, on Trinity Sunday, being the 28th of May, 1809. That good prelate was so much delighted with Mr Grahame, that he was anxious to persuade him to remain in his diocese, but Mr Grahame was prevented from acceding to this request by the prevalence of fever and ague in the district. He resided for some weeks after his ordination at the city of Chester; and there he obtained the curacy of Shefton in Gloucestershire, which he held from July until the month of March in the following year, when he was called to Scotland by family affairs. The accomplishment of his long cherished and ardent desire to

enter the clerical profession, does not seem to have afforded him that full measure of happiness which he anticipated. This was partly to be attributed to broken health; and perhaps, also, to a natural restlessness of disposition, but more particularly to the change having been too long deferred. Indications of this fact may be traced in the following beautiful lines in the *British Georgics*, which show how deeply he loved and how fondly he regretted leaving his native land:

How pleasant came thy rushing, silver Tweed,
Upon mine ear, when, after roaming long
In southern plains, I've reach'd thy lovely banks!
How bright, renowned lark, thy little stream,
Like ray of column'd light chasing a shower,
Would cross my homeward path! how sweet the sounds
When I, to hear the Doric tongue's reply,
Would ask thy well-known name.

And must I leave,
Dear land, thy bonny braes, thy dales,
Each haunted by its wizard-stream, o'erhung
With all the varied charms of bush and tree;
Thy towering hills, the lineament sublime,
Unchanged, of Nature's face, which wont to fill
The eye of Wallace, as he musing plann'd
The grand emprise of setting Scotland free!
And must I leave the friends of youthful years,
And mould my heart anew to take the stamp
Of foreign friendships in a foreign land!
Yes, I may love the music of strange tongues,
And mould my heart anew to take the stamp
Of foreign friendships in a foreign land;
But to my parched mouth's roof cleave this tongue.
My fancy fado into the yellow leaf,
And this oft-pausing heart forget to throb,
If, Scotland, thee and thine I e'er forget.

On his return to Scotland, he was an unsuccessful candidate for St George's episcopal chapel, Edinburgh. This disappointment was severely felt by his friends, who, fondly attached to him, and admiring him much as a preacher, were exceedingly anxious to have him settled amongst them; but he bore the frustration of his hopes without a murmur. In August, 1810, he was appointed interim curate to the chapelry of St Margaret, Durham, where his eloquence as a preacher quickly collected a crowded congregation; and after having officiated there for a few months, he obtained the curacy of Sedgfield, in the same diocese. Having been affected with oppressive asthma and violent headaches, he was induced to try the effect of a change to his native air; and after spending a few days in Edinburgh with his only surviving sister, Mrs Archibald Grahame, he, along with his wife, who had joined him in Edinburgh, proceeded to Glasgow, where he expired two days after his arrival. He died at Whitehill, the residence of his eldest brother, Mr Robert Grahame of Whitehill, on the 14th of September, 1811, in the forty-seventh year of his age; leaving two sons and a daughter.

The most characteristic feature in the mind of James Grahame, was a keen and refined sensibility, which, while it in some measure incapacitated him for encountering the hardships and enduring the asperities of life, and gave the appearance of vacillation to his conduct, at the same time rendered him sensi-

tively alive to the intellectual pleasures of the world, and shed an amiable purity over his character and manners. It is deeply to be regretted, that the wishes of his father should have thrown an impediment in the way of his embracing, at the outset of life, that profession which was so congenial to the benign gentleness of his disposition. His mild manners and many amiable qualities made a deep impression on all who knew him, while his surviving friends cherish his memory with feelings of the sincerest affection and reverence. Possessed of a pleasing and intellectual fund of conversation, there was about him an infantine simplicity of character, which rendered him alternately the companion of the late Francis Horner, and of Messrs Jeffrey, Cockburn, Brougham, and of his other distinguished contemporaries, and the delight of his own children, in whose most playful gambols he would often join. His personal appearance was particularly striking; his dark complexion harmonizing well with his finely formed and expressive features, over which there hung a deep shade of langour and pensiveness; his figure was tall, and while discharging the duties of his sacred office, his air and manner were truly apostolic.

GRAHAM, JAMES, the celebrated marquis of Montrose, was born in the year 1612, and succeeded to his father, John, earl of Montrose, in 1626, being then only fourteen years of age. As he was the only son of the family, he was persuaded by his friends to marry soon after, which greatly retarded his education. Preceptors were, however, brought into his house, and by assiduous study he became a tolerable proficient in the Latin and Greek languages. He afterwards travelled into foreign parts, where he spent some years in the attainment of modern languages, and practising the various exercises then in vogue. He returned to Scotland about the year 1634, with the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. Being a man of large expectations, and meeting with a reception at court which he considered not equal to his merits, he, on the fifteenth of November, 1637, joined the Tables at Edinburgh, to the great dismay of the bishops; who, according to Guthrie, "thought it time to prepare for a storm, when he engaged."—That the reader may be at no loss to understand our narrative, it may not be improper here to inform him that the Tables were committees for managing the cause of the people in the contest they were at this time engaged in with the court for their religion and liberties:—they were in number four—one for the nobility, another for the gentry, a third for the burghs, a fourth for the ministers; and there was a special one, consisting of delegates from each of the four. The Table of the nobility, we may also remark, consisted of the lords Rothes, Lindsay, Loudon, and Montrose: the two latter of whom were unquestionably the ablest and probably the most efficient members. In point of zeal, indeed, at this period Montrose seems to have exceeded all his fellows. When Traquair published the king's proclamation approving of the Service Book, Montrose stood not only on the scaffold beside Mr Archibald Johnston, while he read the protestation in name of the Tables, but got up, that he might overlook the crowd, upon the end of a puncheon; which gave occasion to the prophetic jest of Rothes, recorded with solemn gravity by Gordon of Straloch—"James, you will never be at rest till you be lifted up there above your fellows in a rope;—which was afterwards," he adds, "accomplished in earnest in that same place, and some even say that the same supporters of the scaffold were made use of at Montrose's execution." The Tables having prepared for renewing the national covenant, it was sworn by all ranks, assembled at Edinburgh, on the last of February and first of March, 1638; and, in a short time, generally throughout the kingdom. In this celebrated transaction, Montrose was a leading actor. In preparing, swearing, and imposing the covenant, especially in the last, no man seems to have been more zealous.

In the fullest confidence of his faithfulness and zeal, he had been nominated, along with Alexander Henderson and David Dickson, to proceed to Aberdeen, in order to persuade that refractory city, the only one in the kingdom, to harmonize with the other parts of it; but they made very few converts, and were, upon the whole, treated in no friendly manner. The pulpits of Aberdeen they found universally shut against them; nor even in the open street, did they meet with any thing like a respectful audience. This triumph of the northern episcopalians was carefully reported to Charles by the marquis of Huntly; and the monarch was so much gratified by even this partial success of his favourite system, that, at the very moment when he was showing a disposition to give way to the covenanters, he wrote letters of thanks to the magistrates and doctors, promising them at all times his favour and protection. Montrose soon after returned to Edinburgh, and through the whole of the eventful year 1638, to all appearance acted most cordially in favour of the covenant.

In the beginning of the year 1639, when the covenanters had finally set the king at defiance by abolishing episcopacy, and were preparing to defend their measures by force of arms, Montrose received another commission to visit the Aberdonians, and to provide against the probability of their stirring up an insurrection in the north, when his majesty might be drawing the public attention wholly towards the south. While Montrose was preparing for this expedition, having learned that a meeting of the covenanters in that quarter had been appointed at Tureff, and that Huntly, who had taken possession of Aberdeen, had written to his friends and followers to assemble for the purpose of preventing the meeting, he resolved to protect his friends, and ensure their convocation in spite of Huntly. For this purpose he collected only a few of his friends upon whom he could depend, and by one of those rapid movements by which he was afterwards so much distinguished, led them across that wild mountainous range that divides Angus from Aberdeenshire; and, on the morning of February the 14th, took possession of Tureff, ere one of the opposite party was aware of his having left Angus. Huntly's van, beginning to arrive in the forenoon, were astonished to find the place occupied in a hostile manner, and retired to the Broad Ford of Towie, about two miles to the south of Tureff, where Huntly and his train from Aberdeen shortly after joined them. Here it was debated whether they should advance and attack the place, or withdraw for the present—and being enjoined by his commission from the king to act as yet only on the defensive, Huntly himself dissolved the meeting, though it was upwards of two thousand strong. This formidable array only convinced Montrose that there was no time to lose in preparing to meet it; and hastening next day to his own country, he began to raise and to array troops, according to the commission he held from the 'Tables. Seconded by the energy and patriotism of the people, his activity was such, that in less than a month he was at the head of a well-appointed army of horse and foot, drawn from the immediate neighbourhood; at the head of which he marched directly north, and on the 29th of March approached the town of Aberdeen. The doctors who had given him so much trouble on his former mission, did not think fit to wait his coming on this occasion; and the pulpits were at the service of any of his followers who chose to occupy them. It is admitted, on all hands, that Montrose on this first visit acted with great moderation. Leaving a garrison in Aberdeen under the earl of Kinghorn, he set out on the 1st of April to meet the marquis of Huntly, who had now dismissed his followers and retired to one of his castles. On the approach of Montrose, Huntly sent his friend, Gordon of Straloch, to meet him, and to propose an armistice; and for this purpose a meeting took place between the parties at the village of Lowess, about midway be-

tween Aberdeen and the castle of Strathbogie. The stipulations under which this meeting took place were strongly characteristic of a semi-barbarous state of society. Each of the parties was to be accompanied by eleven followers, and those armed only with swords. Each party, too, before meeting, sent an advance guard to search the other, in case any of the parties might have forgotten or overlooked this so far pacific arrangement. After considerable time spent in rather passionate conversation, it was agreed between them, that Montrose should march his army from Inverury, where it was now encamped, to Aberdeen, leaving Huntly and his countrymen in the meantime unmolested. Guthrie affirms that Huntly subscribed a writ substantially the same with the covenant. Other writers contradict this, and say that he only signed a bond of maintenance, as it was called, obliging himself to maintain the king's authority, and the laws and religion at that time established, which indeed appears substantially the same with the covenant; though the phrase "established religion" was somewhat equivocal, and probably was the salvo, on this occasion, of the marquis's conscience. Montrose, on his return to Aberdeen, without any of the formalities of moral suasion, imposed the covenant, at the point of the sword, upon the inhabitants of the town and the surrounding country, who very generally accepted it, as there was no other way in which they could escape the outrages of the soldiery. As a contribution might have been troublesome to uplift, a handsome subsidy of ten thousand merks from the magistrates was accepted as an equivalent. This is the only instance with which we are acquainted, in which the covenant was really forced upon conscientious recusants at the sword's point; and it is worthy of remark, that the agent in the compulsion was one of the most idolized of the opposite party. Having thus, as he supposed, completely quieted the country, Montrose gave it in charge to the Frasers and the Forbeses, and on the 13th of April, marched for Edinburgh with his whole army, leaving the Aberdonians, though they had put on a show of conformity, more exasperated against the covenanters than ever. Scarcely had the army left the city, than, to testify their contempt and hatred of their late guests, the ladies began to dress up their dogs with collars of blue ribbons, calling them, in derision, covenanters, a joke for which they were, in the sequel, amply repaid.

In the meantime, the preparations of the king were rapidly going forward, and by the first of May the marquis of Hamilton, his lieutenant, entered the Firth of Forth with a fleet of twenty-eight sail, having on board five thousand foot soldiers, and a large quantity of arms. This circumstance had no real effect but to demonstrate the utter hopelessness of the king's cause to all those who witnessed it; yet, operating upon the highly excited feelings of the Gordons, they flew to arms, though they had no proper leader, the marquis of Huntly being by this time a prisoner in Edinburgh castle. Their first movement was an attack, 18th May, upon a meeting of covenanters at Tureff, which, being taken by surprise, was easily dispersed, few persons being either killed or wounded on either side. This was the first collision of the kind that took place between the parties, the prologue, as it were, to the sad drama that was to follow; and it has ever since been remembered by the ludicrous appellation of "The Trot of Tureff." Proceeding to Aberdeen, the Gordons, as the fruit of their victory, quartered themselves upon their friends the citizens of that loyal city, where they gave themselves up to the most lawless license. Here they were met by the historian, Gordon of Straloch, who endeavoured to reason them into more becoming conduct, but in vain. Finding that they intended to attack the earl Marischal, who was now resident at Dunnottar castle, Straloch hastened thither to mediate between them and the earl, and if possible to prevent the

effusion of human blood. The Gordons followed rapidly on his heels ; but having lain one night in the open fields, and finding the earl Marischal determined to oppose them, they at last hearkened to the advice of Straloch, and agreed to disband themselves, without committing further outrages. Unhappily, however, they had been joined at Durris by one thousand Highlanders, under lord Lewis Gordon, third son to the marquis of Huntly, who, though a mere boy, had made his escape from his guardians, assumed the Highland dress, and appeared at the head of these outrageous loyalists for the interests of his father. This band of one thousand heroes it was impossible to send home till they had indulged their patriotic feelings among the goods and chattels of their supposed enemies ; which they did to such an extent, as to provoke the deepest resentment. The earl Marischal with his little army advanced against them, and on the 23d of May entered Aberdeen, thirty Highland barons making a precipitate retreat before him.

For the suppression of these insurrections, Montrose had been again commissioned to the north, with an army of four thousand men, with which he entered Aberdeen on the 25th of May, only two days after the earl Marischal. Having discovered, by numerous intercepted letters, the real feelings of the inhabitants, and that their former compliance with his demands had been mere hypocrisy, practised for the purpose of saving their goods, Montrose imposed upon them another fine of ten thousand merks,—his men, at the same time, making free with whatever they thought fit to take, no protections being granted, save to a very few burgesses, who were known to be genuine covenanters. In revenge for the affront put upon their blue ribbon by the ladies, not one single dog upon which the soldiers could lay their hands, was left alive within the wide circuit of Aberdeen. The Gordons, meanwhile, learning that the Frasers and the Forbeses were advancing to join Montrose, crossed the Spey with one thousand foot and upwards of three hundred horse, and took post on a field near Elgin, where the Frasers and Forbeses lay with an army superior to theirs in number. A parley ensued, and it was settled that neither party should cross the Spey to injure the other. Both parties, of course, sought their native quarters ; and the Gordons, sensible of their inability to cope with Montrose, determined, individually, to seek each his own safety. Having nothing else to do, and possessing abundance of artillery, Montrose resolved to reduce the principal strength belonging to the party, and for this end had just sat down before Gight, the residence of Sir Robert Gordon, when he learned that the earl of Aboyne, second son of the marquis of Huntly, had arrived at Aberdeen with three ships, having obtained from the king, at York, a commission of lieutenantcy over the whole north of Scotland. He, of course, hastened back to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 5th of June ; Aboyne had not yet landed, but for what reason does not appear. Montrose left Aberdeen next day, marching southward with all his forces, as did the earl Marischal at the same time. Aboyne, of course, landed, and raising his father's vassals and dependents, to the number of four thousand men, took possession of Aberdeen—at the cross of which he published the king's proclamation, bestowing all the lands of the covenanters upon their opponents. He then proposed to attack Montrose and the earl Marischal, marching for this purpose along the sea coast, ordering his ships with the cannon and ammunition to attend his progress. A west wind arising, drove the ships with his artillery and ammunition out to sea, so that he came in contact with Montrose and the earl Marischal advantageously posted on the Meagra-hill, a little to the south of Stonehaven, without the means of making any impression upon them. A few shots from the field-pieces of Montrose, so completely disheartened the followers of Aboyne,

that they fell back upon Aberdeen in a state of utter confusion, with the loss of half their number, leaving to the covenanters a bloodless victory. Aboyne was rapidly followed by the victors; but with the gentlemen who yet adhered to him, he took post at the bridge of Dee, which he determined to defend, for the preservation of Aberdeen. Montrose attacked this position on the 18th of June, with his usual impetuosity, and it was maintained for a whole day with great bravery. Next morning Montrose made a movement as if he intended to cross the river farther up; and the attention of the defenders being thus distracted, Middleton made a desperate charge, and carried the bridge in defiance of all opposition. The routed and dispirited loyalists fled with the utmost trepidation towards the town, and were closely pursued by the victorious covenanters. Aberdeen was now again in the hands of the men of whom it had more reason than ever to be afraid: it had already endured repeated spoliations at the hands of both parties, and was at last threatened with indiscriminate pillage. At their first entry into the town, June 19th, the troops behaved with great rudeness; every person suspected of being engaged in the last insurrection was thrown into prison, and the general cry of the army was to set the town on fire. There was some disagreement, however, among the chiefs respecting the execution of such a severe measure, and next day the question was set at rest by the news of the pacification of Berwick, which had been concluded on the 18th, the day that the parties had been so hotly engaged at the bridge of Dee. Montrose was probably not a little sorry to be confined in the north, quelling parties of Highland royalists, when there was a probability of actions of much greater importance taking place in another quarter, upon which the eyes of all men were fixed with a much more intense interest than they could possibly be upon the rock of Dunnottar, the bog of Gicht, or even the "brave town of Aberdeen." Now that a settlement had taken place, he hastened to the head-quarters, that he might have his proportion of what was to be dealt out on the occasion, whether it were public honours, public places, or private emoluments.

It now struck the mind of the king, that if he could but gain over the nobility to his side, the opposition of the lower classes would be rendered of little efficacy; and that he might have an opportunity of employing his royal eloquence for that purpose, he invited fourteen of the most influential of the grandees, that had taken part against him, to wait upon his court at Berwick, under the pretence of consulting them on the measures he meant to adopt for promoting the peace and the prosperity of the country. Aware of his design, the states sent only three of their number, Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, to make an apology for the non-appearance of the remainder. The apology, however, was not accepted; and by the king's special command, they wrote for the noblemen who had been named to follow them. This the noblemen probably were not backward to do, but a rumour being raised, that he intended to seize upon them, and send the whole prisoners to London, the populace interfered, and, to prevent a tumult, the journey was delayed. Charles was highly offended with this conduct; and being strongly cautioned by his courtiers against trusting himself among the unruly Scots, he departed for England, brooding over his depressed cause, and the means of regaining that influence of which he had been deprived by his subjects. Of those who did wait upon him, he succeeded in seducing only one, the earl of Montrose, who was disappointed in being placed under general Leslie, and who had of late become particularly jealous of Argyle. How much reason Charles had to be proud of such an acquisition we shall see in the sequel, though there can be no doubt that the circumstance emboldened him to proceed in his policy of only granting a set of mock reforms to the Scot-

tish people, with the secret purpose of afterwards replacing the affairs of the kingdom on the same footing as before. In the spirit of this design, the earl of Traquair, who was nominated his majesty's commissioner for holding the stipulated parliament and general assembly, was directed to allow the abolition of episcopacy, not as unlawful, but for settling the present disorders; and on no account to allow the smallest appearance of the bishops' concurring (though several of them had already done and did concur) in the deed. He was to consent to the covenant being subscribed as it originally was in 1580—"provided it be so conceived that our subjects do not thereby be required to abjure episcopacy as a part of popery, or against God's law." If the assembly required it to be abjured, as contrary to the constitution of the church of Scotland, he was to yield rather than make a breach: and the proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow he was to ratify, not as deeds of that meeting, all mention of which he was to avoid, but as acts of this present assembly; and to make every thing sure his own way, when the assembly business was closed, immediately before prayers, he was enjoined to make protestation, in the fairest way possible, that in respect of his majesty "not coming to the assembly in person, and his instructions being hastily written, many things may have occurred upon which he had not his majesty's pleasure; therefore, in case any thing had escaped him, or been condescended upon prejudicial to his majesty's service, his majesty may be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place." By these and other devices of a similar character, Charles imagined that he could lawfully render the whole proceedings of the assembly null and void at any time he might think it proper to declare himself. Traquair seconded the views of his master with great dexterity; and the assembly suspecting no bad faith, every thing was amicably adjusted.

In the parliament that sat down on the last day of August, 1639, the day after the rising of the general assembly, matters did not go quite so smoothly. Episcopacy being abolished, and with it the civil power of churchmen, the fourteen bishops, who had formed the third estate of the kingdom in parliament, were wanting. To fill up this deficiency, the other two estates proposed, instead of the bishops, to elect fourteen persons from the lower barons; but this was protested against by the commissioner, and by and by their proceedings were interrupted by an order for their prorogation till the 2d day of June, 1640. Against this prorogation the house protested as an invasion of their rights; but they nevertheless gave instant obedience, after they had appointed commissioners to remonstrate with his majesty, and to supplicate him for a revisal of his commands. Before these commissioners found their way into the presence of Charles, however, he had fully resolved upon renewing the war, and all the arguments they could urge were of course unavailing. Charles, on this occasion, certainly displayed a want of consideration which was very extraordinary; he had emptied his treasury by his last fruitless campaign, yet continued his preparations against Scotland, though he could not raise one penny but by illegal and desperate expedients, which alienated the hearts of his English subjects more and more from him every day. The Scots were, at the same time, perfectly aware of what was intended, and they made such preparations as were in their power to avert the danger. As the subject of this memoir, however, seems not to have taken any particular or prominent part in these preparations, we must pass them over, referring the reader to the lives of those individuals who at this time took the most active part in conducting public affairs. Suffice it to say that, to oppose the army of Charles, which he had with great difficulty increased to nineteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, the Scots had an army of twenty-three thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a considerable

train of artillery. Of this army, Alexander Leslie was again appointed commander-in-chief; lord Almond, brother to the earl of Livingston, lieutenant-general; W. Baillie, of the Lamington family, major-general; colonel A. Hamilton, general of artillery, colonel John Leslie, quarter-master-general; and A. Gibson, younger of Durie, commissary general. The nobles in general had the rank of colonel, with the assistance of veteran officers as lieutenant-colonels. Montrose, though his disaffection to the cause was now no secret, had still as formerly, two regiments, one of horse and another of foot. All these appointments were made in the month of April, 1640, but excepting some smaller bodies for suppressing local risings in the north, the army did not begin to assemble till the middle of July, and it was not till the end of that month that it was marched to Chouseley wood, about four miles to the west of Dunse, and within six of the border.

The Scots had from the beginning of these troubles determined to carry the war, should war become inevitable, into England. This was sound policy; but as they did not wish to make war upon the English people, who were suffering equally with themselves, and were making the most praiseworthy exertions to limit the royal prerogative, it required no ordinary degree of prudence to carry it into execution. The leaders of the covenant, however, possessed powers fully adequate for the occasion. Notwithstanding of their warlike preparations, which were upon a scale equal to the magnitude of the enterprise, they continued to preserve the most perfect decorum, both of language and manner, and they sent before the army two printed papers, the one entitled "Six considerations, manifesting the lawfulness of their expedition into England," the other "The intentions of the army of the kingdom of Scotland declared to their brethren of England." In these papers, which for cogency of argument and elegance of composition may safely be compared with any similar productions of any age, they set forth in strong but temperate language the nature, the number, and the aggravations of their grievances. Their representations coming in the proper time, had the most powerful effect. If there was yet, at the time the parliament was convened, in a majority of the people, some tenderness towards the power of the monarch and the dignity of the prelates, every thing of the kind was now gone. The dissolution of a parliament, which for twelve years had been so impatiently expected and so firmly depended on, for at least a partial redress of grievances, and the innumerable oppressions that had been crowded into the short space between that dissolution and this appearance, on the part of the Scots, together with the exorbitances of the convocation,—that, contrary to all former precedent, had been allowed to sit, though the parliament was dissolved,—had so wrought upon the minds of men, that the threatenings these remonstrances breathed against prelates were grateful to the English nation, and the sharp expressions against the form and discipline of the established church gave no offence save to the few who composed the court faction. So completely did these declarations meet the general feeling, that the Scots were expected with impatience, and every accident that retarded their march was regarded as hurtful to the interests of the public. The northern counties, which lay immediately exposed to the invasion, absolutely refused to lend money to pay troops, or to furnish horses to mount the musqueteers, and the train-bands would not stir a foot without pay.

Anxious to make good their professions, the Scots were some time before they could advance, for want of money. The small supplies with which they had commenced operations being already nearly exhausted, two of the most popular of the nobility, along with Mr Alexander Henderson, and

secretary Johnston, were sent back to Edinburgh to see what could be done in the way of procuring gratuitous supplies. As it would have been displeasing to the English, had the army been under the necessity of cutting down trees, for erecting huts, as had been the practice in former times, when inroads were made upon their border, the commissioners were instructed to use their influence with their countrymen, to provide as much cloth as would serve for tents during their encampments in that country. It was late on a Saturday night when the commissioners arrived in Edinburgh, but the exhortations of the ministers next day were so effectual, that on Monday the women of Edinburgh alone produced webs of coarse linen, vulgarly called *larn*, nearly sufficient for tents to the whole army; and the married men, with equal promptitude, advanced the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, with a promise of remitting as much more in a few days, which they did accordingly. Having obtained these supplies, and a considerable train of black cattle and sheep to be used as provisions, the Scottish army moved from Chouseley wood towards Coldstream, where they intended to enter England by a well-known ford over the Tweed. The river being swollen, they were obliged to camp on a spacious plain called Hirsell Haugh, till the flood should subside; and here they first proved the cloth furnished them for tents, by the good women of Edinburgh. On the 20th, the river having sunk to its ordinary level, it was resolved that the army should march forward. This, however, was considered so momentous an affair, that not one of the leading men would volunteer to be the first to set hostile feet upon the English border; and it was left to the lot to decide who should have the honour, or the demerit of doing so. The lot fell upon Montrose, who, aware of his own defection, and afraid of those suspicions with which he already saw himself regarded, eagerly laid hold of this opportunity to lay them asleep. Plunging at once into the stream, he waded through to the other side without a single attendant, but immediately returned to encourage his men; and a line of horse being planted on the upper side of the ford to break the force of the stream, the foot passed easily and safely, only one man being drowned of the whole army. The commanders, like Montrose, with the exception of those who commanded the horse employed to break the force of the water, waded at the head of their respective regiments, and though it was four o'clock, P. M., before they began to pass, the whole were on the English side before midnight. They encamped for that night on a hill that had been occupied by a troop of English horse, set to guard the ford, but which had fled before the superior force of the Scottish army; large fires were kindled in advance, which, says one of the actors in the scene, "rose like so many heralds proclaiming our crossing of the river, or rather like so many prodigious comets foretelling the fall of this ensuing storm upon our enemies in England;" contrary to the intentions of the Scots, "these fires so terrified the country people, that they all fled with bag and baggage towards the south parts of the country," according to the above author, "leaving their desolate houses to the mercy of the army." Charles left London to take command of his army, which had already rendezvoused at York, on the same day the Scottish army crossed the Tweed. This army, as we have stated above, was said to be twenty-one thousand strong; but from the aversion of the people in general to the service, there is reason to suppose, that in reality it fell far short of that number. The earl of Northumberland was nominated to the command, but he felt, says an English historian, disgusted at being called forth to act the most conspicuous part in a business which no good man in the kingdom relished; and taking advantage of a slight indisposition, he declared himself unfit to perform the duties of his function. Stafford, of course, exercised the supreme command,

though only with the title of lieutenant-general, not caring to assume that of general, because of the envy and odium that attended him. Lord Conway, who commanded under Stafford, had been stationed at Newcastle with a strong garrison to protect the town, which it was supposed he might easily do, as it was fortified, and well stored with provisions.

On the 21st, the Scottish army marched in the direction of Newcastle, and encamped for the night on Millfield Race. On the 22d, they proceeded to the river Glen, where they were joined by about seven thousand of their brethren, who had entered England by Kelso. The whole marched the same night to Middleton Haugh. On Thursday the 27th, they came in sight of Newcastle. During this whole march, the Scots acted up to their previous professions; every Englishman that came into the camp, they caressed and loaded with kindness, and now they despatched a drummer to Newcastle with two letters, one to the mayor, and another to the military governor of the city, demanding in the most civil manner liberty to pass peaceably through, that they might lay their petition at the feet of their sovereign. The messenger was, however, sent back with his letters unopened, because they were sealed; and before he reached the army in his return, the general had determined to pass the Tyne at Newburn, about five or six miles above Newcastle. The principal ford below the village of Newburn, as well as two others, Conway had commanded by trenches, but as the river was passable in many other places not far distant, he had resolved on a retreat. Stafford, however, who undervalued the Scots, was anxious for a battle, if it were only to see what was the mettle of the parties, and commanded him to abide at his post. In approaching Newburn, general Leslie and a few of the chief noblemen, riding a little in advance, narrowly escaped being cut off by a party of English horse, that had crossed the Tyne for the purpose of reconnoitering. At sight of each other, both parties called a halt, and some more of the Scottish horse appearing, the English judged it prudent to retreat. The Scots during the night, encamped on Hadden Law, a rising ground behind Newburn, having a plain descent all the way down to the water's edge. The English were encamped on the opposite side of the Tyne, on a perfect level, that extended behind them to the distance of more than half a mile. The Scottish position was deficient in water, but in return they had abundance of coal from the pits in the neighbourhood, with which they made great fires all around their camp, which tended not a little to magnify their appearance to the enemy. In the morning it was found that their camp overlooked completely that of the English, and they were able from the nature of the ground to plant their cannon so as to command completely the trenches cast up by the English at the fords. The morning was spent coolly in making preparations, both parties watering their horses at the river, (the tide being up,) without molestation. As the river became fordable, however, they became more jealous, and about mid-day a Scottish officer watering his horse, and looking steadily on the entrenchments on the opposite side, was shot dead by an English sentinel. This was the signal for battle; the Scottish batteries immediately opened, and the trenches thrown up by the English at the fords were soon rendered untenable. A few horsemen volunteers under a major Ballantyne, sent over the water to reconnoitre, with orders only to fire at a distance, and to retreat if necessary, found the whole of the breast-works abandoned. The general's guard, consisting of the college of justice's troop, commanded by Sir Thomas Hope, with two regiments of foot, Crawford's and Loudon's, were then sent across; and a battery being opened at the same time from a hill to the eastward, directly upon the great body of the English horse on the plain below, a retreat was sounded, the cannon were withdrawn from the trenches, and the Scots passed in full force without farther

opposition. The English foot sought refuge in a wood, and the horse in covering their retreat, were attacked by a fresh body of Scots, defeated with some loss, and their commanders made prisoners. The scattered parties escaped under cover of night, to carry dismay and confusion into the main body. The loss was inconsiderable, but the rout was complete. The English horse, who but the day before had left Newcastle with their swords drawn, threatening to kill each a dozen of covenanters, made their way into the town in a state of the utmost disorder and dismay, crying, as they rode full speed through the streets, for a guide to Durham; and having strewed the roads behind them with their arms, which they had thrown away in their haste to escape. The Scottish army rested that night upon the ground which the English had occupied, one regiment being still on the north side of the Tyne with the baggage, which the return of the tide had prevented being brought across. Despatches for the governor and mayor of Newcastle, of the same respectful character as had been formerly sent, were prepared on the morning of Saturday; but the committee learning that the garrison had abandoned it during the night, and retired with lord Conway to join the main army at York, it was thought proper to advance without ceremony. The army accordingly moved to Whiggam, within two miles of Newcastle, where they encamped for the night, and next morning, Sunday the 30th of August, the mayor sent an invitation to enter the town. The troops were accordingly marched into a field near the suburbs, after which the gates were thrown open, and the committee, with the principal leaders, entered the town in state, Sir Thomas Hope's troop marshalling the way, and the laird of West Quarter's company of foot keeping the post at the end of the bridge. The whole company were fronted at the house of the lord mayor, who was astonished to observe that they all drank his majesty's health. After dinner the company repaired to the great church of St Nicholas, where a thanksgiving sermon was preached by Mr Henderson. In the town they found next day between four and five thousand stand of arms, five thousand pounds' weight of cheese, some hundreds of bolls of pease and rye, a quantity of hard fish, with abundance of beer; which had been provided for the king's troops, but now was taken possession of by his enemies.

Nothing could be more encouraging than the prospects of the covenanters at this time. The same day in which they gained the victory at Newburn, the castle of Dumbarton, then reckoned an impregnable fortress, surrendered to their friends in Scotland, as did shortly after that of Edinburgh; and the capture of Newcastle was speedily followed by the acquisition of Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields. The number and the splendour of these successes, with the delightful anticipations which they naturally called forth, could not fail to strike every pious mind among the Scots; and a day was most appropriately set apart by the army, as a day of fasting and prayer, in acknowledgment of their sense of the divine goodness. Stafford who, from bad health, had not yet come into action, was hastening to the combat, when he met his discomfited army at Durham; and, from the ill-timed haughtiness which he displayed, was soon the only enemy his army was desirous to overcome. His soldiers even went the length of vindicating their conduct at Newburn; affirming, that no man could wish success to the war against the Scots, without at the same time wishing the enslavement of England. The prudent magnanimity of the Scots, who, far from being elated with the victory, deplored the necessity of being obliged to shed the blood of their English brethren, not only supported, but heightened the favourable opinion that had been from the beginning entertained of them. Their prisoners, too, they treated not only with civility, but with such soothing and affectionate kindness, as insured their gratitude, and called forth the plaudits of the whole nation.

Eager to profit by this state of things, in restoring order and concord between the king and his people, the Scottish committee, on the 2nd of September, sent a letter to the earl of Lanark, his majesty's secretary of state for Scotland, enclosing a petition which they requested him to lay before the king. To this petition, which was couched in the most delicate terms, the king returned an answer without loss of time, requiring them to state in more plain terms the claims they intended to make upon him; informing them, at the same time, that he had called a meeting of the peers of England, to meet at York on the 24th instant. This was an antiquated and scarcely legal assembly, which Charles had called by his own authority, to supersede the necessity of again calling a parliament,—the only means by which the disorders of the government could now be arrested, and which the Scottish committee in their petition had requested him to call immediately. To this communication, the committee replied; “that the sum of their desires was, that his majesty would ratify the acts of the last Scottish parliament, garrison the castle of Edinburgh and the other fortresses only for the defence and security of his subjects, free their countrymen in England and Ireland from further persecution for subscribing the covenant, and press them no further with oaths and subscriptions not warranted by law—bring to just censure the incendiaries who had been the authors of these combustions—restore the ships and goods that had been seized and condemned by his majesty's orders; repair the wrongs and repay the losses that had been sustained; recall the declaration that had been issued against them as traitors—and, finally, remove, with the consent of the parliament of England, the garrisons from the borders, and all impediments to free trade, and to the peace, the religion, and liberties of the two kingdoms.

These demands were no doubt as unpalatable as ever to Charles, but the consequences of his rashness were now pressing him on all sides. His exchequer was empty, his revenue anticipated, his army undisciplined and disaffected, and himself surrounded by people who scarcely deigned to disguise their displeasure at all his measures. In such extreme embarrassment, the king clung, like a drowning man, to any expedient which presented itself, rather than again meet, with the only friends who could effectually relieve him, his parliament. There was unfortunately, too, a secret party among the covenanters, who, with all the pretensions to religion and to patriotism they had put forth, were only seeking their own aggrandisement, and were determined never to admit any pacification that did not leave them at the head of public affairs. Of these, among the Scots, Montrose was the most conspicuous. We have seen with what zeal he imposed the covenant upon the recusant Aberdonians. But he had, since then, had a taste of royal favour at Berwick, and, as it was likely to advance him above every other Scotsman, his whole study, ever since that memorable circumstance, had been how he might best advance the royal interest. For this purpose he had formed an association for restoring the king to an unlimited exercise of all his prerogatives, which was subscribed at Cumbernauld, on the sixth day of the preceding July, by himself, the earl of Wigton, the lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond, who held the place of lieutenant-general in the covenanters' army; and afterwards by the earls of Marischal, Marr, Athol, Kinghorn, Perth, Kelly, Home, and Seaforth; and by the lords Stewart, Erskine, Drummond, Ker, and Napier. Though this association was unknown at the time, the predilections of Montrose were no secrets, and, of course, his credit among his friends was rather on the decline; but a circumstance now occurred which displayed his character in the full light of day, and nearly extinguished any little degree of respect that yet remained to him among the members of the liberal party. It had been laid

down, at the commencement of the campaign, that no person in the army should communicate with either the English court or army, but by letters submitted to the inspection, and approved of by the committee, under the pain of treason. In obedience to this rule, when Sir James Mercer was despatched with the petition to the king, a number of letters from Scotsmen in the camp to their friends in the royal army, were submitted to the committee, and delivered to him, to be carried to their proper destination. Among these letters was one from Montrose to Sir Richard Graham, which had been read and allowed by the committee; but when Sir James Mercer delivered Sir Richard the letter, who instantly opened it, an enclosed letter dropped out and fell to the ground, which Sir James, politely stooping to lift, found, to his astonishment, was addressed in the hand-writing of Montrose to the king. Certain that no such letter had been shown to the committee, Sir James was at once convinced of what had been for some time suspected, that Montrose was betraying the cause in which he had been such a fiery zealot; and on his arrival at Newcastle, instantly communicated the circumstance to general Leslie, who, at a meeting of the committee, of which it was Montrose's turn to sit as president, that same afternoon, moved that Sir James Mercer should be called in and examined concerning the letters he had carried to court. Sir James told an unvarnished tale, that would not admit of being denied; and Montrose, with that constitutional hardihood which was natural to him, finding no other resource, stood boldly up and challenged any man to say, that corresponding with the king was any thing else than paying duty to their common master. Leslie told him that he had known princes lose their heads for less. He had, however, too many associates to his treason, to render it safe or rather prudent at the present moment to treat him as convicted, and he was only enjoined to keep his chamber. While Montrose was thus traitorously spiriting up the king to stand up to all his usurpations, on the one side, Strafford was no less busy on the other, knowing that nothing could save him from the hands of public justice but the king; nor could the king do so, but by strengthening rather than abridging his prerogative. The voice of the nation, however, was distinctly raised, and there was nothing left for Charles but compliance, real or apparent.

From this period forward, we know of no portion of history that has a more painful interest than that of Charles I. Our limits, however, do not allow us to enter into it farther than what may be necessary to make the thread of our narrative intelligible. The Scottish committee being sincerely desirous of an accommodation, the preliminaries of a treaty were, on their part, soon settled; and commissioners from both sides being appointed, a meeting took place, October 1st, at Rippon, half way between the quarters of the two armies; where it was agreed that all hostilities should cease on the 26th of the same month. Charles was now necessitated to call a parliament, and on his consenting to this, the peers agreed to give their personal security to the city of London for a sum of money sufficient to pay both armies—for Charles had now the Scottish army to subsist as well as his own—till such time as it was expected the national grievances would be fully settled by a parliament. The Scottish army was to be stationary at Newcastle, and was to be paid at the rate of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day; but the commission for settling the terms of peace was transferred to London, in order to attend the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 3d of November.

Unfortunately for the king, and latterly for the cause of liberty, the Scots who had attracted so much notice, and conducted themselves with so much prudence, were now no longer principals, but auxiliaries in the quarrel. The English parliament, occupied with the grievances which had

been so long complained of, and profiting by the impression which the successful resistance of the Scots had made, were in no haste to forward the treaty; so that it was not finished till the month of August, 1641. The Scottish army all this time received their stipulated daily pay, and the parliament further gratified them with what they called a brotherly assistance, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, as a compensation for the losses they had sustained in the war, of which eighty thousand pounds was paid down as a first instalment. The king, so long as he had the smallest hope of managing the English parliament, was in as little haste as any body to wind up the negotiations, and, in the meantime, was exerting all his king-craft to corrupt the commissioners. Montrose, we have seen, he had already gained. Rothes, whose attachment to the covenant lay also in disgust and hatred of the opposite party, was likewise gained, by the promise of a rich marriage, and a lucrative situation near the king's person. A fever, however, cut him off, and saved him from disgracing himself in the manner he had intended. Aware that he was not able to subdue the English parliament, Charles, amidst all his intriguing, gave up every thing to the Scots, and announced his intention of meeting with his parliament in Edinburgh by the month of August. This parliament had sat down on the 19th of November, 1640, and having re-appointed the committee, adjourned till the 14th of January, 1641; when it again met, re-appointed the committee, and adjourned till the thirteenth of April. The committee had no sooner sat down, than the Cumbernauld bond was brought before them. It had been all this while kept a secret, though the general conversation of those who were engaged in it had excited strong suspicions of some such thing being in existence. The first notice of this bond seems to have dropped from lord Boyd on his death-bed; but the full discovery was made by the lord Almond to the earl of Argyle, who reported it to the committee of parliament. The committee then cited before them Montrose, and so many of the bonders as happened to be at home at the time—who acknowledged the bond, and attempted to justify it, though by no means to the satisfaction of the committee, many of the members of which were eager to proceed capitally against the offenders. Motives the most mercenary and mean, however, distracted their deliberations, and impeded the course of even-handed justice; the bond was delivered up and burned; the parties declared in writing that no evil was intended; and the matter was hushed.

At a meeting of the committee, May 26th, probably as a set off against the Cumbernauld bond, Mr John Graham, minister at Auchterarder, was challenged for a speech uttered by him to the prejudice of the duke of Argyle. He acknowledged the speech, and gave for his authority Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven, who, being present, gave for his author the earl of Montrose. Montrose condescended on the speech, the time, and the place. The place was in Argyle's own tent, at the ford of Lyon; the time, when the earl of Athol and eight other gentlemen were there made prisoners; the speech was to this effect—that they [the parliament] had consulted both lawyers and divines anent deposing the king, and were resolved that it might be done in three cases:—1st, Desertion—2d, Invasion—3d, Vendition; adding, that they thought to have done it at the last sitting of parliament, and would do it at the next. For this speech Montrose gave for witness John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the gentlemen who were present in the tent; and undertook to produce him, which he did four days afterward. Stuart, before the committee, subscribed a paper bearing all that Montrose had said in his name, and was sent by the committee to the castle. In the castle he signed another paper, wherein he cleared Argyle, owned that he himself had forged the speech out of malice against his lordship; and that by

the advice of Montrose, lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, he had sent a copy of the speech, under his hand, to the king by captain Walter Stuart. Argyle thus implicated in a charge of the most dangerous nature, was under the necessity of presenting Stuart before the justiciary, where, upon the clearest evidence, he was found guilty, condemned, and executed.

On the 11th of June, Montrose, lord Napier, Sir George Stirling, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, were cited before the committee, and after examination committed close prisoners to the castle, where they remained till towards the close of the year. Parliament, according to adjournment, having met on the 15th of July, letters were read, excusing his majesty's attendance till the 15th of August, when it was resolved to sit till the coming of his majesty, and to have every thing in readiness against the day of his arrival. Montrose was in the meantime summoned to appear before parliament on the 13th day of August. He requested that he might be allowed advocates for consultation, which was granted. So much, however, was he hated at the time, that no advocate of any note would come forward in his behalf, and from sheer necessity he was obliged to send for Mr John, afterwards Sir John Gilmour, then a man of no consideration, but in consequence of being Montrose's counsel, afterwards held in high estimation, and employed in the succeeding reign for promoting the despotic measures of the court. On the 13th of August, Montrose appeared before the parliament, and having replied to his charge, was continued to the twenty-fourth, and remanded to prison. At the same time, summonses were issued against the lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to appear before the parliament on the twenty-eighth. On the fourteenth his majesty arrived in Edinburgh, having visited in his way the Scottish army at Newcastle, and dined with general Leslie. On the seventeenth he came to the parliament, and sat there every day afterwards till he had accomplished as he supposed, the purposes of his journey. The king, perfectly aware, or rather perfectly determined to break with the parliament of England, had no object in view by this visit except to gain over the leaders of the Scots, that they might either join him against the parliament, or at least stand neuter till he had reduced England, when he knew he could mould Scotland as he thought fit. He, of course, granted every thing they requested. The earl of Montrose appeared again before the parliament on the twenty-fourth of August, and was continued *de novo*, as were also the lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, on the twenty-eighth. In this state they all remained till, in return for the king's concessions, they were set at liberty in the beginning of the year 1642.

Though in prison, Montrose had done all that he possibly could to stir up an insurrection in favour of the king while he was in Scotland; and he had also exerted himself, though unsuccessfully, to procure the disgrace of the marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Lanark, both of whom he seems bitterly to have envied, and to have hated almost as heartily as he did Argyle. It was probably owing to this, that upon his liberation he retired to his own house in the country, living privately till the spring of 1643; when the queen returning from Holland, he hastened to wait upon her at Burlington, and accompanied her to York. He embraced this opportunity again to press on the queen, as he had formerly done on the king, what he was pleased to denominate the dangerous policy of the covenants, and solicited a commission to raise an army and to suppress them by force of arms, as he was certain his majesty would never be able to bring them to his measures by any other means. The marquis of Hamilton thwarted him, however, for the present, and he again returned home.

Having been unsuccessful in so many attempts to serve the king, and his services being now absolutely rejected, it might have been supposed that Montrose would either have returned to his old friends, or that he would have withdrawn himself as far as it was possible from public life. But he was animated by a spirit of deadly hatred against the party with whom he had acted, and he had within him a restless spirit of ambition which nothing could satisfy but the supreme direction in all public managements; an ambition, the unprincipled exercise of which rendered him, from the very outset of his career, the "evil genius," first of the covenants, and latterly of the miserably misled monarch whom he laboured apparently to serve, and whom he affected to adore. By suggesting the plot against Argyle and Hamilton, known in history by the name of the Incident, during the sitting of the parliament, with Charles at its head in Edinburgh, he checked at once the tide of confidence between him and his parliament, which was rapidly returning to even more than a reasonable height, and created numberless suspicions and surmisings through all the three kingdoms, that could never again be laid while he was in life; and by betraying the secrets of the covenanters, he led the unwary monarch into such an extravagant notion of the proofs of treason which might be established against some members of the lower house, that, forgetting the dignity of his place, he came to the parliament house in person, to demand five of its members, who, he said, had been guilty of treason; an unhappy failure, which laid the broad foundation of his total ruin. With ceaseless activity Montrose, at the same time, tampered with the leaders of the covenant, who, anxious to bring him back to their cause, held out the prospect of not only a pardon, but of their giving him the post of lieutenant-general. Under the pretence of smoothing some difficulties of conscience, he sought a conference with the celebrated preacher, Mr Henderson, that he might pry into the secrets of his former friends; which he had no sooner obtained, than he hastened to lay the whole before his majesty in a new accusation, and as offering new motives for his majesty issuing out against them commissions of fire and sword.

The king, having now disengaged himself from the controlling influence of the marquis of Hamilton, entered into an arrangement, in terms of which the earl of Antrim, who was at the time waiting upon his majesty, undertook to transport into Scotland a few thousands of his Irish retainers, at whose head, and with the assistance of a band of Highland royalists, Montrose was to attempt the subversion of the existing Scottish government. The time appointed for the execution of this scheme was the beginning of April, 1644. Arms and ammunition were in the meantime to be imported from the continent, and a small auxiliary force procured from the king of Denmark.

As the time approached, Montrose, raised to the rank of marquis, left Oxford with the royal commission, to be lieutenant-general for Scotland, under prince Rupert, and accompanied by about one hundred cavaliers, mostly his personal friends. To these he added a small body of militia in passing through the northern counties of England, and on the 13th of April entered Scotland on the western border; and pushing into Dumfries, he there erected his standard, and proposed to wait till he should hear of the arrival of his Irish auxiliaries. In two days, however, he was under the necessity of making a precipitate retreat to Carlisle. This so speedy catastrophe did not tend to exalt the character of Montrose among the English cavaliers, who had pretty generally been of opinion that a diversion in Scotland in the then state of the country was utterly impracticable. Montrose, however, had lost nothing of his self-confidence, and he applied to prince Rupert for one thousand horse, with which he promised to cut his way through all that Scotland could oppose to him. This the prince promised he

should have, though he probably never intended any such thing, for he regarded him in no other light than that of a very wrong-headed enthusiast. Even his more particular friends, appalled by the reports of the state of matters in the north, began to melt from his side, and he was universally advised to give up his commission, and reserve himself for a more favourable opportunity. The spirit of Scotland was at this time decidedly warlike. Leslie was in England with a large army of Scotsmen, who shortly after performed a prominent part at the decisive battle of Marston Moor. There was an army in the north, which had suppressed the insurrection of the Gordons, and sent Haddo and Logie to the block; and the earl of Callendar, formerly lord Almond, was ordered instantly to raise five thousand men for the suppression of Montrose. The commission of the general assembly of the church, in the meantime, proceeded against that nobleman, with a sentence of excommunication, which was pronounced in the high church of Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth day of April, scarcely more than ten days after he had set hostile foot on Scottish ground. Not knowing well what to do, Montrose made an attack upon a small party of covenanters in Morpeth, whom he drove out of the town, and secured the castle. He also captured a small fort at the mouth of the Tyne, and stored Newcastle plentifully with corn from Alnwick and other places around. He was requested by prince Rupert to come up to the battle of Marston Moor, but on his way thither met the prince flying from that disastrous field.

He now determined to throw himself into the Highlands, where he still had high hopes of assistance and success. Making choice of two persons only for his companions, Sir William Rollock and colonel Sibbald, he disguised himself and rode as Sibbald's groom, and in this manner, taking the most wild and unfrequented ways, they arrived, after riding four days, at Tullibaltan, near the foot of the Grampians, the house of his friend, Patrick Graham of Inchbrackie, where he halted for some days, passing his time through the night in an obscure cottage, and in the day among the neighbouring mountains. His two companions in the meantime were despatched to collect intelligence respecting the state of the country, and privately to warn his friends. The accounts procured by his friends were of the most distressing kind, the covenanters being every where in great strength, and the cavaliers in a state of the most complete dejection. In a few days, however, a letter was brought by a Highlander to Inchbrackie, with a request that it might be conveyed to the marquis of Montrose, wherever he might be. This was a letter from Alexander M'Coll, alias M'Donald, a distinguished warrior, who had been entrusted with the charge of his retainers by the marquis of Antrim, with a request that he, Montrose, would come and take the command of the small but veteran band. This small division had about a month before landed in the sound of Mull, had besieged, taken, and garrisoned three castles on the island of that name, and afterwards sailing for the mainland had disembarked in Knoydart, where they attempted to raise some of the clans. Argyle, in the meantime, coming round to that quarter with some ships of war, had taken and destroyed their vessels, so that they had no means of escape; and, with a strong party of the enemy hanging on their rear, were proceeding into the interior in the hope of being assisted by some of the loyal clans. Montrose wrote an immediate answer as if from Carlisle, and appointed a day not very distant when he would meet them at Blair of Athol, which he selected as the most proper place of meeting from the enmity which he knew the men of Athol had to Argyle. On the appointed day, attended by Inchbrackie, both dressed in the costume of ordinary Highlanders and on foot, he travelled from Tullibaltan to the place of meeting, and to his great joy found twelve hundred Irishmen quartered on the spot. They had already been joined

by small bodies of Highlanders, and the men of Athol seemed ready to rise almost to a man. When Montrose presented himself to them, though he exhibited his majesty's commission to act as lieutenant-general, the Irish, from the meanness of his appearance, could scarcely believe that he was the man he gave himself out to be. But the Highlanders, who received him with the warmest demonstrations of respect and affection, put the matter beyond doubt, and he was hailed with the highest enthusiasm. He was joined the same day by the whole of the Athol Highlanders, including the Stuarts, the Robertsons, and other smaller clans, to the number of eight hundred, so that his army was above two thousand men. Aware that Argyle was in pursuit of the Irish, he led his army the next day across the hills towards Strathearn, where he expected reinforcements. Passing the castle of Wiem, the seat of the clan Menzies, he commenced his career by burning and ravaging all the neighbouring lands, in revenge for the harsh treatment of one of his messengers by the family, to strike a salutary terror into all who might be disposed to offer him violence, and to gratify his followers, whose principal object he well knew was plunder. Passing through glen Almond next day, an advanced party of his men were surprised with the appearance of a large body of men drawn up on the hill of Buckenty. These were men of Menteith, raised by order of the committee of estates at Edinburgh, marching to the general rendezvous at Perth, under the command of lord Kilpont, eldest son of the earl of Menteith. Being mostly Highlanders and officered by gentlemen of the family of Montrose, or of the kindred clan Drummond, they were easily persuaded to place themselves under the royal standard, which increased his force to three thousand men.

Resolving to attack Perth, where some raw levies were assembled under the command of lord Elcho, Montrose continued his march all night, intending to take the place by surprise. Lord Elcho, however, had been warned of his approach, and had drawn his men to the outside of the town, intending to hazard a battle for its defence. In crossing the Tippermuir, a wild field about five miles from Perth, Montrose came in sight of the enemy, upwards of six thousand in number drawn up in one long line, with horse at either end. Lord Elcho himself led the right wing, Sir James Scott of Rossie, the only man in the army who had ever seen service, the left; and the earl of Tullibardine, the main body. Montrose drew out his little army also in one long line, three men deep. The Irish who were veteran troops, he placed in the centre; the Highlanders he placed on the wings to oppose the horse, being armed with swords, Lochaber axes, and long clubs. He himself led the right wing, that he might be opposed to Sir James Scott, who was an officer of good reputation, having served in the wars abroad—from the lords Elcho and Tullibardine, he apprehended little danger. The covenanters' horse fled at the first onset, being overpowered, according to Wishart, by a shower of stones, but more probably induced by the treachery of lord Drummond, and his friend Gask. The flight of the horse threw the ill-disciplined foot into irremediable confusion, and they followed in such breathless haste, that many expired through fatigue and fear, without even the mark of a wound. Few were slain in the engagement, but there were upwards of three hundred killed in the pursuit. Montrose had not a single man killed, and only two wounded. The whole of the artillery and baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of the victors; and Lord Drummond, whose treachery had chiefly occasioned the rout, joined Montrose as soon as the affair was over. Montrose entered Perth the same night, where he levied a subsidy of nine thousand merks, and stipulated for free quarters to his army for four days. They remained only three, but in these three they supplied themselves with whatever they wanted, whether it were

clothes, arms, food, money, or ammunition. The stoutest young men were also impressed into the ranks, and all the horses seized without exception.

On the 4th of September, Montrose crossed the Tay, and proceeded through Angus for Aberdeenshire. The first night of his march he halted at Collace, where lord Kilpont was murdered by Stuart of Ardvorlich, who struck down a sentinel with the same weapon, with which he had stabbed his lordship, and made his escape. Proceeding to Dundee, Montrose summoned the town; but it was occupied by a number of the Fife troops, and refused to surrender. The approach of the earl of Argyle, with a body of troops, prevented Montrose from venturing upon a siege. Proceeding towards Aberdeen, the Aberdonians, alarmed at his approach, sent off the public money, and their most valuable effects to Dunnotter, and having a force of upwards of two thousand men, they threw up some fortifications at the bridge of Dee, for the defence of the city. Montrose however, remembered the bridge of Dee, and, avoiding it, crossed the water by a ford at the mills of Drumm, which rendered all their preparations vain. A summons was sent into the town to surrender, and the covenanters' army being on the march, the messengers who brought the summons were hospitably entertained and dismissed. By some accident the drummer on his return was killed; on which Montrose ordered preparations for an immediate attack, and issued the inhuman orders to give no quarter. Lord Burleigh and Lewis Gordon, a son of Huntly's, led the right and left wings of the covenanters, which consisted of horse, and the levies of Aberdeenshire, a majority of whom were indifferent in the cause. The centre was composed of the Fife soldiers, and those who had joined them from principle. Montrose, still deficient in cavalry, had mixed his musketeers with his horse, and waited for the covenanters. Lord Lewis Gordon, who had forced a number of the Gordons to engage in opposition to the inclination and orders of his father, rushed precipitately forward with the left wing, which by a steady fire of musketry was suddenly checked, and before it could be rallied totally routed. The right wing experienced a similar fate, but the centre stood firm and maintained its post against the whole force of the enemy for two hours. It too at length gave way, and, fleeing into the town, was hotly pursued by the victors, who killed without exception every man they met; and for four days the town was given up to indiscriminate plunder. Montrose, lodging with his old acquaintance, skipper Anderson, allowed his Irishmen to take their full freedom of riot and debauchery. "Seeing a man well cled," says Spalding, "they would tirr him to save his clothes unspoiled, and syne kill him. Some women they pressed to deflour, and some they took perforce to serve them in the camp. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for the father, which if they did, and were heard, they were presently slain also." The approach of Argyle put an end to these horrors. Expecting to be joined by the marquis of Huntly's retainers, Montrose hastened to Inverury, but the breach of faith in carrying the marquis forcibly to Edinburgh after a safe conduct being granted was not forgotten; and Argyle too being at hand, his ranks were but little augmented in this quarter. When he approached the Spey, he found the boats removed to the northern side, and the whole force of Moray assembled to dispute his passage. Without a moment's hesitation he dashed into the wilds of Badenoch, where with diminished numbers, for the highlanders had gone home to store their plunder, he could defy the approach of any enemy. Here he was confined for some days by sickness from over fatigue, but a few days restored him to wonted vigour, when he descended again into Athol to recruit, MacDonald having gone on the same errand into the highlands. From Athol, Montrose passed into Angus, where he wasted the estates of lord Cowper,

and plundered the place of Drum, in which were deposited all the valuables belonging to the town of Montrose and the surrounding country; there also he obtained a supply of arms, and some pieces of artillery. Argyle with a greatly superior force, was following his footsteps; but, destitute of military talents, he could neither bring him to an engagement, nor interrupt his progress. Having supplied his wants in Angus, and recruited his army, Montrose suddenly repassed the Grampians, and spreading ruin around him, made another attempt to raise the Gordons. Disappointed still, he turned to the castle of Fyvie, where he was surprised by Argyle and Lothian, and, but for the most miserable mismanagement, must have been taken. After sustaining two assaults from very superior numbers, he eluded them by stratagem, and ere they were aware, was again lost in the wilds of Badenoch. Argyle, sensible perhaps of his inferiority, returned to Edinburgh, and threw up his commission.

Montrose, now left to act as he thought proper, having raised, in his retreat through Badenoch, portions of the clans M'Donald and Cameron, and been joined by the Stuarts of Appin, whom his friend Alister M'Coll had raised for him, he, with the consent and by the advice of his associates, prepared to lay waste the territory of his hated rival Argyle. For this purpose he divided his army into two divisions, the one consisting of the levies from Lochaber and Knoydart, under John Muidartach, the captain of the Clanronalds, entered by the head of Argyle; the other under his own direction, by the banks of Loch Tay and Glen Dochart. The country on both tracts belonging either to Argyle or his relations was destroyed without mercy. In this work of destruction Montrose was assisted by the clans of M'Gregor and M'Nab; who, whatever might be said of their loyalty, were, the former of them especially, as dextrous at foraying and fire raising, as the most accomplished troop in his service. For upwards of six weeks was this devastation prolonged. Every person capable of bearing a weapon was murdered, every house was razed, castles excepted, which they were not able for the want of artillery to master. Trusting to the poverty and difficulty of the passes into his country, Argyle seems never to have anticipated such a visit, till the marauders were within a few miles of his castle of Inverary, when he instantly took boat and sailed for the Lowlands, leaving all behind to the uncontrolled sway of these insatiate spoilers, who "left not a four-footed beast in his hale lauds," nor, as they imagined, a man able to bear arms. Having rendered the country a desert, they bent their way towards Inverness, by Lochaber, to meet the earl of Seaforth, who with the strength of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, occupied that important station.

Argyle in the meantime having met with general Baillie at Dumbarton, and concerted a plan with him, hastened back to the Highlands, and collecting his fugitive vassals and his dependants, followed at a distance the steps of his enemy, intending to be ready to attack him in the rear, when Baillie, as had been agreed between them, should advance to take him in front. Montrose was marching through Abertarf, in the great glen of Albin, when he was surprised with intelligence that Argyle was at Inverlochy with an army of, at least, double the number of that which he himself commanded, and aware that Baillie and Hurry were both before him, was at no loss to conjecture his intentions. Without a moment's hesitation, however, he determined to turn back, and taking his antagonist by surprise, cut him off at one blow, after which he should be able to deal with the enemy that was in his front, as circumstances should direct. For this purpose he placed a guard upon the level road down the great glen of Albin, which he had just traversed, that no tidings of his movements might be carried back, and moving up the narrow glen formed by the Tarf, crossed the hills of Lairee Thurard. Descending thence into the lonely vale at the head of the Spey,

and traversing Glen Roy, he crossed another range of mountains, came in upon the water of Spean, and skirting the lofty Ben-nevis, was at Inverlochy, within half a mile of Argyle, before the least hint of his purpose had transpired; having killed every person they met with, of whom they had the smallest suspicion of carrying tidings of their approach, and the route they had chosen being so unusual a one, though they rested through the night in the clear moonlight, in sight of their camp, the Campbells supposed them to be only an assemblage of the country people come forth to protect their property; and they do not seem to have thought upon Montrose, till, with the rising sun and his usual flourish of trumpets, he debouched from the glen of the Nevis, with the rapidity of a mountain torrent. Argyle, who was lame of an arm at the time, had gone on board one of his vessels on the lake during the night, but a considerable portion of his troops that lay on the farther side of that lake, he had not thought it necessary to bring over to their fellows. His cousin, however, Campbell of Auchinbreck, a man of considerable military experience, who had been sent for from Ireland, for the purpose of leading this array of the Campbells, marshalled them in the best order circumstances would permit; but they fled at once before the wild yell of their antagonists, and, without even attempting to defend themselves, were driven into the lake, or cut down along its shores. On the part of Montrose, only three privates were killed and about two hundred wounded, among whom was Sir Thomas Ogilvy, who died a few days after. On the part of Argyle, upwards of fifteen hundred were slain, among whom were a great number of the chief men of the Campbells. This victory which was certainly most complete, was gained upon Sunday the 2nd of February, 1645; and if, as there are abundant grounds for believing, the letter of Montrose concerning it to the king, was the means of causing him to break off the treaty of Uxbridge, when he had determined to accept of the conditions offered him, it was more unfortunate than any defeat could possibly have been.

Instead of following his rival Argyle to Edinburgh, and demonstrating, as he somewhat quaintly boasted in his letter to the king, that the country was really conquered, and in danger of being called by his name, Montrose resumed his march to the north east, and, after approaching Inverness, which he durst not attempt, made another foray through Morayland; where, under pretence of calling forth all manner of men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to serve the king, he burned and plundered the country, firing the cobbles of the fishermen, and cutting their nets in pieces. Elgin was saved from burning by the payment of four thousand merks, and its fair of Fasten's Eve, one of the greatest in the north of Scotland, was that year not held. The greater part of the inhabitants fled with their wives, their children, and their best goods, to the castle of Spynie, which only afforded an excuse for plundering the town of what was left. The laird of Grant's people, who had newly joined Montrose, no doubt for the express purpose, were particularly active in the plundering of Elgin, "breaking down beds, boards, insight, and plenishing, and leaving nothing that was tursable [portable] uncarried away." Leaving the Grants thus honourably employed for the king in Elgin, Montrose with the main body of his army, proceeded on the 4th of March to the bog of Gight, sending before him across the Spey the Farquharsons of Braemar to plunder the town of Cullen, which they did without mercy. Grant having deserted his standard and thus become an assistant in robbery, as might naturally have been expected in this sort of warfare, the garrison of Inverness sent out a party to his house at Elchies, which they completely despoiled, carrying off plates, jewels, wearing apparel, and other articles; after which they plundered the lands of Cextoun, because the laird had followed Montrose along with the lord Gordon. This compelled all the gentlemen of that

quarter to go back for the protection of their own estates, Montrose taking their parole to continue faithful to the king or at least never to join the covenanters. This the most part of them kept as religiously as he had done the oath of the covenant. At the bog of Gight he lost his eldest son, a youth of sixteen, who had accompanied him through all this desultory campaign; and dying here, was buried in the church of Bellie.

Having received a reinforcement of five hundred foot and one hundred and sixty horse, which was all that lord Gordon was able to raise among his father's vassals, Montrose moved from the bog of Gight, intending to fall down upon the Lowlands through Banffshire and Angus. In passing the house of Cullen, he plundered it of every article of plate and furniture, and would have set it on fire, but that the countess (the earl of Findlater being in Edinburgh) redeemed it for fifteen days, by paying five thousand marks in hand and promising fifteen thousand more. From Cullen he proceeded to Boyne, which he plundered of every article, spoiling even the minister's books and setting every 'biggin' on fire. The laird himself kept safe in the craig of Boyne; but his whole lands were destroyed. In Banff he left neither goods nor arms, and every man whom they met in the streets they stripped to the skin. In the neighbourhood of Turreff he destroyed sixty ploughs belonging to the viscount Frendraught, with all the movable property of the three parishes of Inverkeithly, Forgue, and Drumlade. He was met by a deputation from Aberdeen, who "declared the hail people, man and woman through plain fear of the Irishes, was fleeing away if his honour did not give them assurance of safety and protection. He forbade them to be feared, for this foot army wherein the Irishes were, should not come near Aberdeen by eight miles." And "this," Spalding exultingly exclaims, "along with some other friendly promises, truly and nobly he kept!" Though he had promised to keep the Irishes at due distance, he sent one of his most trusty chieftains, Nathaniel Gordon, along with Donald Farquharson and about eighty well-horsed gentlemen, into Aberdeen, to seize some stores belonging to the estates, and to look out for Baillie, whom he expected by that route. These having partly executed their commission, sat down to enjoy themselves, and were surprised by general Hurry, who, with one hundred and sixty horse and foot, secured the gates and avenues of the town, and falling upon the unsuspecting cavaliers, killed many of them as they sat at their wine, and seized all their horses. Among those that were slain was Donald Farquharson, "one of the noblest captains," according to Spalding "amongst all the Highlanders of Scotland." Hurry retired at his leisure, unmolested, carrying with him a number of prisoners, who, as traitors to the covenant, were sent to Edinburgh. Among these prisoners was the second son of Montrose, now lord Graham, a young boy attending the schools, who along with his pedagogue was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. The corpse of Donald Farquharson "was found next day in the streets stripped naked, for they tirmed from off his body a rich suit which he had put on only the samen day. Major-general M'Donald was sent in on the Saturday afternoon with one thousand Irishes, horse and foot, to bury Donald, which they did on Sabbath, in the laird of Drum's Isle." During these two days, though the Aberdonians were in great terror, M'Donald seems to have kept his Irishes in tolerably good order, "not doing wrong, or suffering much wrong to be done, except to one or two covenanters that were plundered;" but on Monday, when he had left Aberdeen to meet Montrose at Duriss, "a number of the Irish rogues lay lurking behind him, abusing and fearing the town's people, taking their cloaks, plaids, and purses from them on the streets. No merchant's booth durst be opened; the stable doors were broken up in the night, and the horses taken out; but the

major hearing this returns that samen Monday back, and drove all thir rascals with sore skins out of the town before him; and so both Aberdeens were clear both of him and them, by God's providence, who looked both for fire and plundering—yet he took up his cloth and other commodities, amounting to the sum of ten thousand pounds and above, to be cloathing to him and his soldiers, and caused the town to become obliged to pay the merchants, by raising of a taxation for that affect, whilk they were glad to do to be quit of their company." On the same Sunday, the 17th of March, Montrose burned the parish of Durrus, "the hail laigh biggins and corns, and spoiled the hail ground of nolt, sheep, and other guid's." The lands of Craigievar lying in the parish of Fintry, and the minister's house of Fintry, were served in the same manner the same day. He proceeded on the 20th to Dunnottar, where he summoned the earl Marischal to "come out of the castle and join him in the king's service." On receipt of the earl's answer "that he would not fight against his country," he sent a party who plundered and burned the whole lands of Dunnottar. They set fire at the same time to the town of Stonehaven and to all the fishing boats that lay in the harbour. The lands of Fetteresso, including an extensive and finely ornamented deer park, the village of Cowie, and the minister's manse of Dunnottar, shared the same fate.

After so many burnings and such reckless plundering, it must by this time have become necessary for Montrose to shift his quarters. Rapine, indeed, was almost the sole object of his followers; and when they had either too much or too little of it, they were sure to leave him. The north having been repeatedly gone over, he seems at last to have meditated a descent upon the south. A pitched battle with Baillie and Hurry, who were stationed at Brechin with a considerable army, he seems also to have thought a necessary preliminary to his further progress. For this purpose he came to Fettercairn, only eight miles from their camp, where he purposed to rest till they should by some movement indicate their strength and their intentions. Baillie and Hurry were both good officers, and they had a force more than sufficient to cope with Montrose; but they were hampered in all their movements by a parliamentary committee sent along with them, without whose advice or suffrage they were not allowed to act. In consequence of this, their conduct was not at all times of a very soldier-like character, nor their motions so prompt as they ought to have been; Montrose, however, was but a short time in his new quarters, when Hurry, who was general of the horse, came out with six hundred of his troopers to inspect his situation, and, if possible, ascertain his real strength. Montrose, apprized of his approach, drew out all the horse he had, about two hundred, whom he placed on an eminence in front of his camp, with a strong body of musketeers concealed in a hollow behind them. Hurry made a dash at the horse, but met with such a warm reception from the concealed musketeers, as made him quickly retreat. Hurry, however, who was a brave soldier, placed himself in the rear of his retreating squadron, and brought them safely back to the camp with very little damage. This encounter kept both parties quiet for some days, and induced Montrose to attempt getting into the Lowlands without fighting Baillie, as he had originally proposed. For this end he sent back the Gordons, that they might be ready to defend their own country, in case Baillie should attempt to wreak his vengeance upon them, after he had thus gotten the slip. He then skirted along the Grampians with the remainder of his army towards Dunkeld. Baillie made no attempt directly to stop him, but preserved such a position as prevented him making his intended descent. After being for two days thus opposed to each other on the opposite banks of the Isla, Montrose sent a trumpeter, challenging Baillie to fight, either coming

over the water to the north, or allowing him to come over to the south ; it being understood that no molestation was to be given to either till fairly clear of the water, or till he declared himself ready to fight. Baillie made a reply, which it had been well for his own reputation and for his country, that he had at all times continued to act upon. He would look, he said, to his own business, and did not require other men to teach him to fight. Both armies then resumed their march, and respectively arrived at Dunkeld and Perth nearly at the same time.

Finding that he could not pass Baillie without a battle, and being informed by his scouts that he had left Perth and gone to the pass of Stirling ; Montrose, as an interim employment, that would help to pass the time, and encourage his followers by the abundance of spoil it would afford, determined on a visit to Dundee,—a place that was strenuous for the covenant, and which had haughtily refused to admit him after the battle of Tippermuir. Sending off his baggage, and the less efficient of his men to Brechin, on the 3d day of April he led a hundred and fifty horse, with six hundred picked musketeers against that city ; and continuing his march all night, arrived before it by ten o'clock on the forenoon of the 4th. Montrose immediately gave the place up to military execution ; and, perhaps, for a kind of salvo to his credit, retired to the top of Dundee Law, leaving the command to lord Gordon and Alister M'Coll. The attack was made at three different places simultaneously, and all of them in a few minutes were successful. The town was set on fire in various places. The most revolting scenes of outrage and rapine followed. The abundance of spoil, however, of the most alluring description, happily diverted the robbers from indulging in butchery ; and, ere they were aware, Baillie and Hurry were both at their heels. Had Montrose been in the town, the whole had been surprised and cut off in the midst of their revel ; but from his post on the hill, he was apprized of the approach of the enemy just in time to recall his men ; the greater part of them being so drunk that it was with difficulty they could be brought forth at the one extremity of the town as Baillie and Hurry entered at the other. Placing the weakest and most inebriated in the front, while he himself with the horse and the best of the musketeers brought up the rear, Montrose marched directly to Arbroath ; and from want of unity of plan and of spirit in the two commanders opposed to him, brought off the whole with but a trifling loss. He reached Arbroath, seventeen miles east of Dundee, long before day. Here, however, he could not rest without exposing himself and his army to certain destruction ; and anxious to regain the mountains, where alone he judged himself safe from his pursuers, he wheeled about in a north-westerly direction, right athwart the county of Forfar, and, before morning, crossed the south Esk at Cariston castle, where he was only three miles from the Grampians. The march, which in the two nights and a day this army had performed, could not be much short of seventy miles, and they must now have been in great want of rest. Baillie, who had taken post for the night at Forfar, intending in the morning to fall down upon Montrose at Arbroath, where he calculated upon his halting, no sooner learned the manner in which he had eluded him, than, determined to overtake him, he marched from Forfar, with such haste that his horse were in sight of Montrose, ere that general was apprized that he was pursued. His men were in such a profound sleep, that it was not without difficulty they were awakened ; but they were no sooner so than they fled into the recesses of Glenesk, and Baillie abandoned the pursuit. The part of Montrose's troops that had been with the baggage sent to Brechin, had also by this time taken refuge among the Grampians, and in the course of next day joined their companions.

The parliamentary committee seem now to have regarded Montrose as a sort of predatory outlaw, whom it was vain to pursue upon the mountains, and if they could confine him to these mountains, which he had already laid in many places waste, they seem for a time to have been willing to be satisfied. Baillie was accordingly stationed at Perth, to defend the passes into the southern shires, and Hurry was to defend, if possible, the northern counties from that spoliation to which they had been oftener than once subjected. Montrose's followers, in the meantime, going home to deposit their plunder as usual, his numerical force was for a time considerably reduced. He, however, came as far south as Crief, for the purpose of meeting with his nephew, the master of Napier, viscount Aboyne, Stirling of Keir, and Hay of Dalgetty, who, with a few horse, had left their friends in England for the purpose of joining with him. Here Baillie attacked him, and chased him into the fastnesses at the head of Strathearn; whence, next day, April the 19th, he proceeded through Balquhider to Menteith, where he had the good fortune to meet with his friends at the ford of Cardross. Here he had certainly been cut off from the Highlands, but that M'Coll had broken down upon the lordship of Cupar Angus, killed the minister of Cupar, and was laying waste the whole lands of lord Balmerinloch, which attracted the attention of Baillie. Montrose, in the meantime, learning that Hurry was too many for his friends in the north, marched through Strath Tay and Athol, raising the Highlanders every where as he went along; and before Hurry was aware that he had crossed the Grampians, suddenly appeared behind his position at Strathbegie. Though thus taken by surprise, Hurry made his retreat good to Inverness; and being reinforced by the troops lying there, marched back the next day to Nairn, with the design of attacking Montrose, who, he learned, was posted at the village of Auldearn. Montrose would now have avoided a battle, but that he knew Baillie would soon be up, when he would have both Hurry and Baillie to contend with. It was on the 9th of May, 1645, that the two armies came in sight of each other. Montrose, who was deficient in numbers, made an admirable disposition of his troops. One division, consisting of the Gordons and the horse, he placed on the left, to the south of the village; the other, comprehending the Irish and the Highlanders, he arranged on the right, amidst the gardens and enclosures, to the north. The former he commanded in person, with lord Gordon under him; the latter was given to M'Coll. Hurry, unacquainted with the ground, led on his best troops to the attack of the right, as the main body, which was inclosed in impenetrable lines, and where he was exposed to the fire of cannon which he had no means of silencing. M'Coll, however, who was no general, provoked by the taunts of his assailants, came out of his fastnesses, and overcome by superiority of numbers and discipline, was speedily put to the rout. Montrose, who was watching an opportunity, no sooner perceived Hurry's men disordered by their success, than with his unbroken strength he attacked them in flank. This unexpected attack, however, was received with great steadiness by Lothian's, Loudon's, and Buchanan's regiments, who fell where they fought; and the day might perhaps have been retained, or at least left doubtful, had not colonel Drummond, one of Hurry's own officers, by a treacherous manœuvre, wheeled his horse into the midst of the foot, and trampled them down while they were at the hottest of the engagement with the enemy. In this battle, as in all of Montrose's, the carnage was horrid, between two and three thousand killed, few or none being made prisoners. Sixteen colours, with all the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. Hurry, though an unprincipled mercenary, had abstained from wasting by fire and sword the possessions of the anti-covenanters, and consequently had provoked no retaliations; but Montrose, more ferocious than

ever, ravaged the whole district anew, committing to the flames the gleanings he had in his former rapacious and merciless visitations been compelled to leave, through incapacity to destroy. Nairn and Elgin were plundered, and the chief houses set on fire; Cullen was totally laid in ashes, and "sic lands as were left unburnt up before were now burnt up." Hurry, in the meantime, was allowed the quiet possession of Inverness.

On the very day that Hurry was defeated at Auldearn, Baillie had come to Cairn-a-mount on his way to join him. He had just ravaged Athol, and the Highlanders were on their way for its rescue, when he was ordered to the north; and by the Cairn-a-mount came to Cromar, where he learned the fate of his colleague at Auldearn. On the 19th of May he broke up his camp at Cromar, having peremptory orders to hazard a battle. He himself had experience sufficient to instruct him in the danger of leading a few raw and dispirited troops against an army of so much experience and so much confidence as that of Montrose; but having no alternative, he marched to Cochlarachie, whence he could discern Montrose's army in number, as he supposed, nearly equal to his own, encamped among some enclosures in the neighbourhood of that town. The same night he was joined by Hurry, with a hundred horse, the remnants of the army that had fought at Auldearn, with whom he had fought his way through Montrose's very lines. Next morning he expected to have had an encounter, but to his surprise Montrose was fled. He was followed at some distance by Baillie, but he took up an impregnable position in Badenoch, where he awaited the return of M'Coll and his reinforcements, having it in his power to draw from the interior of that wild district abundant supplies. Baillie, on the contrary, could not find subsistence, and withdrew to Inverness to recruit his commissariat; which having accomplished, he came south and encamped at Newton in the Garioch.

Montrose, in the meantime, penetrated as far as Newtyle in Angus, anticipating an easy victory over the earl of Crawford, who lay at the distance of only a few miles, with a new army, composed of draughts from the old for the protection of the Lowlands. When on the point of surprising this force, he was called to march to the assistance of the Gordons, whose lands Baillie was cruelly ravaging. On the last day of June, he came up with Baillie, advantageously posted near the kirk of Keith, and, declining to attack him, sent a message that he would fight him on plain ground. Baillie still wished to choose his own time and his own way of fighting; and Montrose recrossed the Don, as if he designed to fall back upon the Lowlands. This had the desired effect, and Baillie was compelled, by his overseeing committee, to pursue. On the 2d of July the two armies again met. Montrose had taken post on a small hill behind the village of Alford, with a marsh in his rear. He had with him the greater part of the Gordons, the whole of the Irish, the M'Donalds of Glengarry and Clanronald, the M'Phersons from Badenoch, and some small septs from Athol, the whole amounting to three thousand men. Baillie, on the other hand, had only thirteen hundred foot, many of them raw men, with a few troops of lord Balcarras', and Halket's horse regiment. Montrose, having double the number of infantry to Baillie, drew up his army in lines six file deep, with two bodies of reserve. Baillie formed also in line, but only three file deep, and he had no reserve. Balcarras, who commanded the horse, which were divided into three squadrons, charged gallantly with two; but the third, when ordered to attack in flank, drew up behind their comrades, where they stood till the others were broken by the Gordons. The foot, commanded by Baillie in person, fought desperately, refusing to yield even after the horse had fled; nor was it till Montrose had brought up his reserve, that the little band

was overpowered and finally discomfited. The victory was complete, but Montrose had to lament the death of lord Gordon, whose funeral he celebrated shortly after the engagement with great military pomp at Aberdeen. No sooner had he accomplished this, than he sent a party into Buchan, which had hitherto, from its insular situation, escaped the calamitous visitations that had fallen upon most places in the north, to bring away all the horses, for the purpose of furnishing out a body of cavalry. It was also proposed to send two thousand men into Strathnaver, to bring the marquis of Huntly safely home through the hostile clans that lay in his way. Hearing of the army that was assembling against him at Perth, however, he laid aside that project, and hastened south to the little town of Fordun in Kincardineshire, where he waited for M'Coll, who very soon arrived with seven hundred M'Leans, and the whole of the Clanronald, amounting to five hundred men, at the head of whom was John Muidartach, who is remembered in the Highlands to this day for his singular exploits. Graham of Inchbrackie brought the Athol Highlanders in full force, with the M'Gregors, the M'Nabs, the Stuarts of Appin, the Farquharsons of Braemar, with many other clans of smaller number and inferior note. With this force, which mustered between five and six thousand men, about the end of July, Montrose came down upon Perth, where he understood the parliament was then assembled, hoping to be able to disperse their army before it came to any head, or even to cut off the whole members of the government. After he had made frequent flourishes as if he meant to attack them, the army at Perth, being considerably strengthened, moved forward to offer him battle, when he once more betook himself to the hills to wait for reinforcements. Having received all the reinforcements he was likely to get, and more a great deal than he could expect to keep for any length of time without action and plunder, he marched back again, offering the army of Perth battle, which they did not accept. Not daring to attack their position, he passed to Kinross, hoping to draw them into a situation where they could be attacked with advantage, or to escape them altogether and make his way into England. Baillie followed him by Lindores, Rossie, and Burleigh, and was joined upon his march by the three Fife regiments.

From Kinross, Montrose suddenly took his route for Stirling bridge; and in passing down the vale of the Devon burned castle Campbell, the beautiful seat of the earl of Argyle; he burned also all the houses in the parishes of Dollar and Muckhart; and while he and his chief officers were feasted sumptuously by the earl of Marr, his Irish auxiliaries plundered the town of Alloa. Stirling being at this time visited by the plague, Montrose did not approach it, but, going further up the river, crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew. Baillie's army marched close upon his track down the Devon, passed the Forth by the bridge of Stirling, and on the 14th of August, was led forward to Denny, where it crossed the Carron, and from thence to a place called Hollan-bush, about four miles to the east of Kilsyth, where it encamped for the night. In the whole warfare that had been waged with Montrose, the game had been played into his hand, and on this occasion it was more so than ever. He had taken up his ground with mature deliberation, and he had prepared his men by refreshments, and by every possible means for the encounter. The covenanters, on the other hand, after a toilsome march across the country, took up a position, which the general was not allowed to retain. Contrary to his own judgment, he was ordered to occupy a hill which the enemy, if they had chosen so to do, could have occupied before him. The orders of the committee, however, were obeyed, the change of ground was made; and while it was making, a company of cuirassiers, drew from Montrose a remark, "that the cowardly rascals durst not face them till they were cased in

iron. To show our contempt of them let us fight them in our shirts." With that he threw off his coat and waistcoat, tucked up the sleeves of his shirt like a butcher going to kill cattle, at the same time drawing his sword with ferocious resolution. The proposal was received with applause, the cavalry threw off their upper garments, and tucked up their sleeves; the foot stripped themselves naked, even to the feet, and in this state were ready to rush upon their opponents before they could take up the places assigned them. The consequence was, the battle was a mere massacre—a race of fourteen miles, in which space six thousand men were cut down and slain.

The victory of Kilsyth gave to Montrose almost the entire power of Scotland; there was not the shadow of an army to oppose him; nor was there in the kingdom any authority that could direct one if there had. What he had formerly boasted, in his letter to Charles, would now most certainly have been realised had he possessed either moral or political influence. He possessed neither. His power lay entirely in the sword, and it was a consequence of the savage warfare which he had waged, that he was most odious to his countrymen in general, few of whom loved him, and still fewer dared to trust him. Notwithstanding the submissions he received from all quarters, there was nothing that with propriety he could have done but to have taken refuge for another quarter of a year in the wilds of Badenoch. He was gratified, however, with submissions from many quarters during the days he remained at Glasgow and Bothwell, at both which places he fancied himself in the exercise of regal authority. He had now his commission as lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and general of all his majesty's forces there. He was empowered to raise and command forces in Scotland, to march, if expedient, into England, and act against such Scottish subjects as were in rebellion there; also to exercise unlimited power over the kingdom of Scotland, to pardon or condemn state prisoners as he pleased, and to confer the honour of knighthood on whom he would. By another commission he was empowered to call a parliament at Glasgow on the 28th of October next, where he, as royal commissioner, might consult with the king's friends regarding the further prosecution of the war, and the settlement of the kingdom. He proceeded to knight his associate Macdonald, and he summoned the parliament which was never to meet. His mountaineers requested liberty, which, if he had refused, they would have taken, to depart with their plunder. The Gordons retired with their chief in disgust, and Alister, now Sir Alister McColl, as there was no longer an army in Scotland, seized the opportunity to renew his spoliations and revenge his private feuds in Argyshire.

To save his army from total annihilation, Montrose turned his views to the south. Hume, Roxburgh, and Traquair, had spoken favourably toward the royal cause, and he expected to have been joined by them with their followers, and a body of horse which the king had despatched to his assistance, under lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale. This party, however, was totally routed in coming through Yorkshire. A party which these two leaders attempted to raise in Lancashire was finally dispersed on Carlisle sands, a short while before Montrose set out to effect a junction with them; and while he waited near the borders for the promised aid of the three neighbouring earls, David Leslie surprised him at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, giving as complete an overthrow as he had ever given to the feeblest of his opponents, on the 13th of September, 1645. One thousand royalists were left dead on the field; and one hundred of the Irish, taken prisoners, according to an ordinance of the parliaments of both kingdoms, were afterwards shot. Montrose made his escape from the field with a few followers, and reached Athol in safety, where he was able still to raise about four hundred men. Huntly had now left his concealment; but he could not be prevailed

on to join Montrose. Disappointed in his attempts to gain Huntly, Montrose returned by Braemar into Athol, and thence to Lennox, where he quartered for some time on the lands of the Buchanans, and hovered about Glasgow till the execution of his three friends, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Inverquhar, gave him warning to withdraw to a safer neighbourhood. He accordingly once more withdrew to Athol. In the month of December he laid siege to Inverness, before which he lay for several weeks, till Middleton came upon him with a small force, when he fled into Ross-shire. The spring of 1646 he spent in marching and countermarching, constantly endeavouring to excite a simultaneous rising among the Highland septs, but constantly unsuccessful. On the last day of May he was informed of the king's surrender to the Scottish army, and, at the same time, received his majesty's order to disband his forces and withdraw from the kingdom. Through the influence of the duke of Hamilton, whose personal enemy he had been, he procured an indemnity for his followers, with liberty for himself to remain one month at his own house for settling his affairs, and afterwards to retire to the continent. He embarked in a small vessel for Norway on the 3d of September, 1646, taking his chaplain, Dr Wishart, along with him, for whose servant he passed during the voyage, being afraid of his enemies capturing him on the passage.

From Norway, he proceeded to Paris, where he endeavoured to cultivate the acquaintance of Henrietta Maria, the queen, and to instigate various expeditions to Britain in favour of his now captive sovereign. It was not, however, thought expedient by either Charles or his consort, to employ him again in behalf of the royal cause, on account of the invincible hatred with which he was regarded by all classes of his countrymen. In consequence of this he went into Germany, and offered his services to the emperor, who honoured him with the rank of mareschal, and gave him a commission to raise a regiment. He was busied in levying this corps, when he received the news of the king's death, which deeply affected him. He was cheered, however, by a message soon after to repair to the son of the late king, afterwards Charles II., at the Hague, for the purpose of receiving a commission for a new invasion of his native country. With a view to this expedition, he undertook a tour through several of the northern states of Europe, under the character of ambassador for the king of Great Britain, and so ardently did he advocate the cause of depressed loyalty, that he received a considerable sum of money from the king of Denmark, fifteen hundred stand of arms from the queen of Sweden, five large vessels from the duke of Holstein, and from the state of Holstein and Hamburg between six and seven hundred men. Having selected the remote islands of Orkney as the safest point of rendezvous, he despatched a part of his troops thither so early as September, 1649; but of twelve hundred whom he embarked, only two hundred landed in Orkney, the rest perishing by shipwreck.

It was about this time, that in an overflowing fit of loyalty, he is alleged to have superintended the disgraceful assassination of Dorislaus, the envoy of the English parliament at the Hague; on which account young Charles was under the necessity of leaving the estates. When Montrose arrived in the Orkneys in the month of March, 1650, with the small remainder of his forces, he found that from a difference between the earls of Morton and Kinnoul, to the latter of whom he had himself granted a commission to be commander, but the former of whom claimed the right to command in virtue of his being lord of the islands, there had been no progress made in the business. He brought along only five hundred foreigners, officered by Scotsmen, which, with the two hundred formerly sent, gave him only seven hundred men. To these, by the aid

of several loyal gentlemen, he was able to add about eight hundred Orcadians, who from their unwarlike habits, and their disinclination to the service, added little to his effective strength. After a residence in Orkney of three weeks, he embarked the whole of his forces, fifteen hundred in number, at the Holm Sound, the most part of them in fishing boats, and landed in safety near John O'Groat's house. Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross had been exempted in the late disturbances from those ravages that had overtaken every place south of Inverness, and Montrose calculated on a regiment from each of them. For this purpose he had brought a great banner along with him, on which was painted the corpse of Charles I. the head being separated from the trunk, with the motto that was used for the murdered Darnley, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." It had no effect, however, upon the simple natives of these regions, except to excite their aversion, and they every where fled before him.

In order to secure a retreat to the Orkneys, the castle of Dunbeath was taken possession of, and strongly garrisoned by Montrose. Five hundred men were also sent forward to occupy the hill of Ord, which they accomplished just as the earl of Sutherland was advancing to take possession of it. Sutherland retired rapidly before him, leaving his houses of Dunnechin, Shelbo, Skibo, and Dornoch, under strong garrisons for the protection of his lands. Montrose, mortified to find in Sutherland the same aversion to him as in Caithness, and confident of his strength and of the distance of his enemies, sent a message to the earl of Sutherland, threatening to subject his estates to military execution if he continued to neglect his duty and the royal cause. Colonel Strachan had, however, by this time reached Tain, where he met with his lordship and his friends the Rosses and Munroes, to the amount of five or six hundred men. Here it was determined that Sutherland should get behind Montrose, so as to prevent his retreat to the north, while Strachan with four troops of horse, assisted by the Rosses and Munroes, should march up in his front. When within two miles of him, they concealed themselves in a field of broom, and sent out scouts to observe the motions and calculate the strength he had brought along with him. Finding that Montrose had just sent out a party of forty horse, it was resolved that the whole should keep hid in the broom, one troop of horse excepted, which might lead him to think he had no more to contend with. This had the desired effect. Montrose took no pains to strengthen his position but placing his horse a little in advance, waited their approach on a piece of low ground close by the mouth of the river Kyle. Strachan then marshalled his little party for the attack, dividing the whole into four parts, the first of which he commanded in person; and it was his intention, that while he himself rode up with his party, so as to confirm the enemy in the notion that there were no more to oppose, the remaining parties should come up in quick succession, and at once overwhelm him with the announcement that he was surprised by a large army. The plan was completely successful. Montrose no sooner saw the strength of the presbyterians, than, alarmed for the safety of his foot, he ordered them to retire to a craggy hill behind his position. Strachan, however, made such haste that though it was very bad riding ground, he overtook the retiring invaders before they could reach their place of refuge. The mercenaries alone showed any disposition to resist—the rest threw down their arms without so much as firing a shot. Montrose fought with desperate valour, but to no avail. He could only save himself by flight. The carnage, considering the number of the combatants, was dreadful. Several hundreds were slain, and upwards of four hundred taken prisoners. On the part of the victors only two men were wounded and one drowned. The principal standard of the enemy, and all Montrose's papers, fell into the hands of the victors.

Montrose, who fled from the field upon his friend the young viscount Fren-draught's horse, his own being killed in the battle, rode for some space with a friend or two that made their escape along with him; but the ground becoming bad, he abandoned in succession his horse, his friends, and his cloak, star, and sword, and exchanging clothes with a Highland rustic, toiled along the valley on foot. Ignorant of the locality of the country, he knew not so much as where he was going, except that he believed he was leaving his enemies behind him, in which he was fatally mistaken. His pursuers had found in succession, his horse, his cloak, and his sword, by which they conjectured that he had fled into Assynt; and accordingly the proprietor, Neil Macleod, was enjoined to apprehend any stranger he might find upon his ground. Parties were immediately sent out, and by one of them he was apprehended, along with an officer of the name of Sinclair. The laird of Assynt had served under Montrose; but was now alike regardless of the promises and the threatenings of his old commander. The fugitive was unrelentingly delivered up to general Leslie, and by Strachan and Halket conducted in the same mean habit in which he was taken, towards Edinburgh. At the house of the laird of Grange, near Dundee, he had a change of raiment, and by the assistance of an old lady had very nearly effected his escape. He had been excommunicated by the church and forfeited by the parliament so far back as 1644, and now sentence was pronounced against him before he was brought to Edinburgh. His reception in the capital was that of a condemned traitor, and many barbarous indignities were heaped upon him; in braving which he became, what he could never otherwise have been, in some degree an object of popular sympathy. He was executed on Tuesday the 21st of May, 1650, in a dress the most splendid that he could command, and with the history of his achievements tied round his neck; defending with his latest breath his exertions in behalf of distressed royalty, and declaring that his conscience was completely at rest. His limbs were afterwards exposed with useless barbarity at the gates of the principal towns in Scotland.

Montrose appeared to cardinal du Retz as a hero fit for the pages of Plutarch, being inspired by all the ideas and sentiments which animated the classic personages whom that writer has commemorated. He certainly is entitled to the praise of great military genius, of uncompromising ardour of purpose, and of a boldness both in the conception and execution of great designs, such as are rarely found in any class of men. It is not to be denied, however, that ambition was nearly his highest principle of action, and that the attainment of his objects was too often sought at the expense of humanity. As might be expected, his memory was too much cherished by his own party, and unreasonably detested by the other; but historical truth now dictates that he had both his glorious and his dark features, all of which were alike the characteristics of a great and pregnant mind, soaring beyond the sphere assigned to it, but hardly knowing how to pursue greatness with virtue.

GRAHAM, JOHN, viscount of Dundee, was the elder son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, an estate with an old castle attached near Dundee. The family of Claverhouse was a branch of that of Montrose, and the mother of the subject of this memoir was lady Jean Carnegie, third daughter of John, first earl of Northesk. Young Graham was educated between 1660 and 1670, at St Andrews university, where he distinguished himself by a proficiency in mathematics, by an enthusiastic passion for Highland poetry, and the zeal inherited from his family in behalf of the then established order of things in church and state. His abilities recommended him to the attention of archbishop Sharpe, whose death he afterwards revenged by so many severities. He com-

menaced his military career as a volunteer in the French service, and when the British war with Holland was concluded, became a cornet in the guards of the prince of Orange, whose life he saved at the battle of Seneff; in the year 1674; a service for which he was rewarded by receiving a captain's commission in the same corps. One of the Scottish regiments in the service of the States shortly after becoming vacant, from the favour of the prince, and his interest with the court of England, Graham was induced to offer himself as a candidate for it. It was, however, carried against him, in consequence of which he determined to abandon the Dutch service, and in 1677 returned to Scotland, bringing with him particular recommendations from the prince of Orange to king Charles, who appointed him captain to the first of three troops of horse which he was raising at that time for enforcing compliance with the established religion. Of all who were employed in this odious service, captain Graham was the most indefatigable and unrelenting. His dragoons were styled by the less serious part of the people, *the ruling elders of the church*; and recusancy was the great crime they had it in charge to repress. Conventicles, as they were called, the peaceable assemblies of the people in the open fields, to hear from their own ministers the word of God, were the objects against which Clavers, as he was called in contempt, had it in charge to wage an exterminating warfare; and to discover and bring to punishment such as frequented them, he spared not to practise the most detestable cruelties. But though the subject of this memoir was the most forward and violent, he was not the sole persecutor of the field preachers and their adherents. In every quarter of the country, particularly in the shire of Fife, and in the southern and western counties—there was a Sharp, an Earlshall, a Johnston, a Baunatyne, a Grierson, an Oglethorpe, or a Main, with each a host of inferior tyrants, who acted under him as spies and informers—in consequence of whose procedure no man was for a moment safe in his life or his property, either in house or in field, at home or abroad. Arms, of course, were necessarily resorted to by the sufferers, and a party of them falling in by accident with the primate Sharpe, in the beginning of May, 1679, put him to death, which excited the fears, and, of course, the rage of the whole of the dominant party to the highest pitch of extravagance; and in pursuit of the actors in that affair, and to put down all conventicles by the way, Claverhouse and his dragoons, with a party of foot, were immediately sent to the west.

Meanwhile a party in arms had assembled in Evandale, to the number of eighty persons, with Robert Hamilton of Preston at their head, and came to Rutherglen, on the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration—extinguished the bonfires that were blazing in honour of the day—and having burned the act of supremacy, the declaration, &c., published at the market cross of that burgh, a short testimony against all these acts, since known by the name of the Rutherglen Declaration, returned to Evandale. Sermon having been announced by some of their preachers on the approaching Sunday, June the first, in the neighbourhood of Loudon hill; Claverhouse, who it appears was either in Glasgow or its neighbourhood at the time, and had information both of what they had done and of what they intended to do, followed almost upon their heels, and on Saturday the 31st of May, surprised and made prisoners in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, Mr John King, and seventeen persons on their way to join the meeting at Loudon-hill. Tying his prisoners together, two and two, and driving them before him like cattle, to be witnesses to the murder of their brethren, he hasted on Sunday morning early, by the way of Strathaven, to surprise them before they should have time to be fully assembled. The service, however, was begun by Mr Thomas Douglas, who had been an actor in the publication of the Rutherglen Declaration on the preceding Thursday, before he could come

up; and having notice of his approach, about fifty horsemen, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred foot left the meeting, and met their persecutors at Drumclog, where, being united in heart and mind, and properly conducted, they in a few minutes routed the royal troops. Claverhouse himself narrowly escaping, with the loss of his colours, between thirty and forty of his men, and all his prisoners. Of the country people there were not above three killed and but few wounded. Claverhouse fled with the utmost precipitation to Glasgow, where he had left the lord Ross with a number of troops; and, had the covenanters pursued him, they might have been masters of the city the same day. They waited, however, till next day, before they attacked Glasgow, and the streets having been barricaded, they were repulsed with considerable loss by the troops, who were thus enabled to fight under cover. As the countrymen took up ground at no great distance, and as their numbers were rapidly augmenting, Claverhouse and lord Ross did not think it prudent to attempt keeping possession of Glasgow, but on the 3d of June, retreated towards Stirling, carrying along with them in carts a number of the wounded countrymen that had fallen into their hands, and on Laubert muir, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, were joined by a body of the king's forces under the earl of Linlithgow. Still they did not think themselves a match for the covenanters, and wrote to the council that it was the general sense of the officers, that his majesty should be written to for assistance from England without loss of time.

The duke of Monmouth was in consequence appointed to the command of the army; the whole of the militia were called out, and two regiments of dragoons under Oglethorpe and Main, then in summer quarters in the north of England, ordered to join them. On the 17th, Monmouth arrived at Edinburgh. He joined the army, which had been increased to upwards of ten thousand men, on the 19th, and on Sunday the 22d, confronted the poor insurgents in their original encampment upon Hamilton muir, and instead of making preparations to receive an enemy, quarrelling about the manner in which their grievances should be stated, or whether they were to supplicate or to fight; yet a part of the countrymen, with some pieces of cannon, stationed to defend the passage of Bothwell bridge, behaved with the coolness of veteran troops. After having maintained the unequal conflict for upwards of an hour, this little band of heroes were obliged to retreat for the want of ammunition. Monmouth's whole force crossed by the bridge, and it was no longer a battle but a disorderly rout, every individual shifting for himself in the way he thought best. Claverhouse requested that he might be allowed to sack and to burn Glasgow, Hamilton, Strathaven, and the adjacent country, for the countenance they had given to the rebels, as he termed them, but in reality for the sake of spoil, and to gratify a spirit of revenge for the affront he sustained at Drumclog. This, however, the duke had too much humanity to permit. But he had abundant room for satiating his revenge afterwards, being sent into the west with the most absolute powers; which he exercised in such a manner as has made his very name an execration to this day.

In 1682, Claverhouse was appointed sheriff of Wigton, in which office his brother, David Graham was joined with him the year following. To particularize the murders and the robberies committed by the brothers, in the exercise of their civil and military callings, would require a volume. Ensnaaring oaths and healths, Claverhouse himself had ever at his finger ends; and if any refused these, they were instantly dragged to prison, provided there was a prospect of making any thing out of them in the way of money; otherwise they had the advantage of being killed on the spot, though sometimes not without being victims of the most refined cruelty. This was particularly the cause with regard to John

Brown styled the Christian Carrier, whom Claverhouse laid hold of in a summer morning in 1685, going to his work in the fields. Intending to kill this innocent and worthy person, the persecutor brought him back to his own house, and subjected him to a long examination, before his wife and family. Being solidly and seriously answered, he tauntingly inquired at his prisoner if he was a preacher; and in the same spirit, when answered in the negative, remarked, "If he had never preached meikle, he had prayed in his time;" informing him at the same time that he was instantly to die. The poor unoffending victim addressed himself to the duty of prayer, along with his family, with all the fervour of a devout mind in the immediate prospect of eternity, and thrice by Claverhouse was interrupted by the remark, that he had got time to pray, but was beginning to preach. With one simple reply, that he knew neither the nature of praying nor preaching, the good man went on and concluded his address, without the smallest confusion. He was then commanded to take farewell of his wife and children, which he did with the most resigned composure, kissing them individually and wishing all purchased and promised blessings, along with his own, to be multiplied upon them. A volley from six of the troopers then scattered his head in fragments upon the ground; when Claverhouse, mounting his horse, as if to insult the sorrows of the woman whom he had thus wickedly made a widow, asked her what she thought of her husband now. "I thought ever much of him," was the reply "and now as much as ever."—"It were justice," said he, "to lay thee beside him."—"If ye were permitted," said the much injured woman, "I doubt not but your cruelty would carry you that length; but how will you make answer for this morning's work?"—"To man I can be answerable," said the audacious tyrant, "and for God, I will take him in mine own hand;" and putting spurs to his horse, galloped off, leaving the woman with her bereaved babes, and the corpse of her murdered husband, without a friend or neighbour that was not at some miles distance. The poor woman, borrowing strength from her despair, meantime set down her infant on the ground, gathered and tied up the scattered brains of her husband, straightened his body, wrapping it up in her plaid, and, with her infants around her, sat down and wept over him. Claverhouse had, in the year previous to this, been constituted captain of the royal regiment of horse, was sworn a privy councillor, and had a gift from the king of the estate of Dudhope, and along with it the constabularyship of Dundee, then in the hands of Lauderdale, upon paying a sum of money to the chancellor.

On the accession of James VII. he was left out of the privy council, on pretence, that having married into the family of Dundonald, it was not fit that he should be intrusted with the king's secrets. He was very soon, however, restored to his place in the council, had the rank of a brigadier-general bestowed on him in 1686, and some time afterwards, that of major-general. On the 12th of November, 1688, being then with the king in London, he was created a peer, by the title of viscount of Dundee and lord Graham of Claverhouse. This was a week after William prince of Orange had landed to reverse the order of things under which his lordship had reaped so much honour and preferment. When his majesty withdrew to Rochester, Lord Dundee strongly dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom, promising to collect ten thousand of his disbanded soldiers, to march through England, driving the prince of Orange before him. Happily for the country, and perhaps for Dundee, his advice was not taken, and still meditating mischief, he came to Edinburgh, bringing a troop of sixty horse along with him, which had deserted from his regiment in England. The westland men, however, who had come into the city of Edinburgh to protect the convention, till regularly author-

ized troops should be raised, had their eye upon him, as one who ought to be called to account for the many slaughters he had committed ; and suspecting that he intended by the help of his dragoons, to add that of the lords Crawford and Cardross to the number, they mounted guard upon the lodgings of these two noblemen. This seemed to give great uneasiness to the lord Dundee, who in the convention which he attended only for a few days, was always putting the question, what was meant by bringing in the rabble ; which not being answered to his lordship's mind, he thought it prudent to retire from the city. General Mackay with fifteen troops of horse, by orders from the convention, pursued him through the shires of Perth, Angus, Aberdeen, Buchan, Banff, Moray, and Nairn. On the 1st of May, 1689, Dundee, with one hundred and fifty horse, joined Macdonald of Keppoch, who with nine hundred men had invested Inverness, partly because they had proclaimed the prince of Orange king, and partly for assisting the M'Intoshes, with whom he was at odds. The town, however, compromised the matter by a gift to Keppoch of two thousand dollars, Dundee acting the part of a mediator between them. He offered himself in the same character to M'Intosh ; but the chieftain refused to submit to his dictation, for which they drove away his cattle, and divided them,—part to the use of the army, and part to Keppoch's tenants. After having subsisted upon this booty along with Keppoch for upwards of six weeks, he, with his hundred and fifty horse, came unexpectedly upon the town of Perth, where he made some prisoners, seized upon a number of horses, and appropriated nine thousand marks of the king's cess and excise. From Perth he marched upon Dundee, but the citizens shut their gates against him ; and, unable to force an entrance, he turned aside to this own house at Dudhope. After occupying this mansion two nights he returned to Keppoch, whence, after a residence of six weeks, he marched into Badenoch to meet general Mackay and the laird of Grant, who had an army of nearly two thousand foot and upwards of two hundred horse. Mackay and Grant, though superior in numbers, retreated before him till they had passed Strathbogie. Dundee pursued with great ardour till he came to Edin-glassy, where he learned that Mackay had received considerable reinforcements : after resting a few days, he returned to Keppoch. Here, besides recruits from Ireland, he was joined by Macdonald of the Isles with five hundred men, by Macdonald of Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Cameron of Lechiel, and others, each with a body of retainers eager to be led against the Sassenach, for the sake of their expatriated sovereign. Thus reinforced with an army of two thousand five hundred men, he advanced upon Blair in Athol. General Mackay being at Perth, hastened to meet him with an army of three thousand foot and two troops of horse. Marching through the pass of Killicranky, he found Dundee with his army posted on an eminence, ready to attack him as he emerged from that dangerous defile. Having little choice of position, Mackay drew up his men in line, three deep, as they could clear the defile, having a narrow plain before them, and behind them the craggy eminences they had just passed, and the deep and rapid water of Tummel. Dundee's army was formed in dense masses, according to their clans, on an opposite eminence ; whence about an hour before sunset they descended, in their shirts and doublets, with the violence of their own mountain torrents ; and, though they received three fires, which killed a great number of them, before they reached Mackay's lines, their attack was such as in the course of a few minutes threw nearly his whole force into irretrievable confusion. One or two of his regiments happily stood unbroken ; and while he hastened with these to secure an orderly retreat, Dundee rode up at full speed to lead on the Macdonalds, to complete the victory : but as he was pointing them on to the attack, a random shot struck him below the armpit, and

he fell from his horse mortally wounded. He was carried into a neighbouring cottage, where he died the same night, July 27, 1689. In his grave were buried the fruits of his victory, and for a time the best hopes of his party, who, while they eulogized his character in the language of unmeasured panegyric, could not help seeing that the cause of legitimacy, in Scotland, perished with him. It is hardly necessary to remark, that this anticipation was fully justified by the event.

Lord Dundee was married to the honourable Jean Cochrane, third and youngest daughter of lord William Cochrane, brother to the earl of Dundonald, by whom he had issue one son, who died in infancy. Of his character, after the brief detail which we have given of his actions, it is scarcely necessary to speak more particularly. That he was free from many of the debasing vices which disgraced the greater part of his associates, we have seen no reason to doubt; but if he was less sensual, he was more haughty, more perseveringly active, and more uniformly and unrelentingly cruel in the exercise of those illegal powers which he was called upon by a most unprincipled court to exercise, than all his coadjutors put together.

GRAINGER, JAMES, a physician and poet of some eminence, was born in Dunse, about the year 1723. After receiving such education as his native town afforded, he came to Edinburgh, and was bound apprentice to a Mr Lauder, a surgeon. While in the employment of this gentleman, he studied the various branches of medicine; and having qualified himself for practice, joined the army, and served as surgeon to lieutenant Pulteney's regiment of foot, during the rebellion in Scotland of 1745. On the conclusion of the war, Grainger went in the same capacity to Germany, but again returned to England at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He now sold his commission, and entered upon practice in London, but without much success. In 1753 he published a treatise in Latin on some diseases peculiar to the army, entitled "*Historia Febris Intermittentis Armatorum*, 1746, 1747, 1748." In the medical knowledge, however, which this work contained, and which evinced much learning and skill, together with acuteness of observation, he was, unfortunately for his interest, anticipated by Sir John Pringle in his celebrated work on the diseases of the army.

During Dr Grainger's residence in London, he became intimately acquainted with many of the men of genius then resident there; amongst these were Shennstone, Dr Percy, Glover, Dr Johnson, and Sir Joshua Reynolds; by all of whom he was much esteemed for his amiable manners, and respected for his talents.

The poetical genius of Dr Grainger was first made known by his publishing an "*Ode on Solitude*," which met with a favourable reception, and was, although now perhaps but little known, much praised by the reviewers of the day. His want of professional success now compelled him to look to his literary talents for that support which his medical practice denied him, and he endeavoured to eke out a scanty livelihood by writing for booksellers; and in this way he was employed by Mr Miller in compiling the second volume of Maitland's history of Scotland, from the materials left by the latter at his death.

In 1758, he published a translation of the "*Elegies of Tibullus*." This work was severely handled in the critical reviews, where it was allowed none of the merit which in reality it possesses.

Dr Grainger now got involved in a controversy with Smollett, with whom he had formerly been on terms of friendship. The cause of their difference is not now known, but if it bore any proportion to the severity with which Smollett on all occasions treated his quondam friend, it must have been a serious one. He abused Dr Grainger in every possible shape, availed himself of every oppor-

tunity of reviling and humiliating him, and pursued his system of hostility with the most unrelenting bitterness.

Soon after the publication of the "Elegies," Dr Grainger went out as a physician to the island of St Christopher's, where an advantageous settlement had been offered him. On the voyage out he formed an acquaintance, in his professional capacity, with the wife and daughter of Matthew Burt, esq., the governor of St Christopher's; the latter of whom he married soon after his arrival on the island. Having thus formed a connexion with some of the principal families, he there commenced his career with every prospect of success. To his medical avocations he now added those of a planter, and by their united profits soon realized an independency.

On the conclusion of the war, Dr Grainger returned for a short time to England. While there, he published (1764) the result of his West India experience, in a poem entitled the "Sugar Cane." This work was also much praised at the time, and certainly does possess many passages of great beauty; but without arraigning the author's talents, since his subject precluded any thing like sentiment or dignity, it cannot be considered in any other light, than as an ill-judged attempt to elevate things in themselves mean and wholly unadapted for poetry.

In the same year (1764) he also published "An Essay on the more common West India diseases, and the remedies which that country itself produces; to which are added, some hints on the management of negroes." Besides these works, Dr Grainger was the author of an exceedingly pleasing ballad, entitled "Bryan and Pereene." After a short residence in England, he returned to St Christopher's, where he died on the 24th December, 1767, of one of those epidemic fevers so common in the West Indies.

GRANT, SIR FRANCIS, of Cullen, a judge and political writer, was the son of Archibald Grant of Bellinton,¹ in the north of Scotland, a cadet of the family of Grant of Grant, the various branches of which, at that period, joined the same political party, which was supported by the subject of this memoir. He was born about the year 1660, and received the elementary part of his education at one of the universities of Aberdeen. He was destined for the profession of the law; and as at that period there were no regular institutions for the attainment of legal knowledge in Scotland, and the eminent schools of law on the continent furnished admirable instruction in the civil law of Rome, on which the principles of the greater part of the Scottish system are founded,—along with most of the aspirants at the Scottish bar, Mr Grant pursued his professional studies at Leyden, where he had the good fortune to be under the auspices of the illustrious commentator John Voet; an advantage of which he is said to have so far profited, that the great civilian retained and expressed for years afterwards a high opinion of his diligence and attainments, and recommended to his other students the example of his young Scottish pupil. He seems indeed to have borne through his whole life a character remarkable for docility, modesty, and unobtrusive firmness, which procured him the countenance and respect of his seniors, and brought him honours to which he did not apparently aspire. Immediately on his return to Scotland, and in consequence of the exhibition of his qualifications at the trial preparatory to his passing at the bar, we find him attracting the notice of Sir George M'Kenzie, then lord advocate, at the head of the Scottish bar, and in the full enjoyment of his wide-spread reputation; a circumstance creditable to the feelings of both, and which must have

¹ Such is his paternity, as given in Haig and Brunton's History of the College of Justice, on the authority of Milne's genealogical MS. Wodrow, in one of his miscellaneous manuscripts, says, he understood him to be the son of a clergyman.

been peculiarly gratifying to the younger man, from the circumstance of his early displaying a determined opposition to the political measures of the lord advocate. Mr Grant was only twenty-eight years of age, when he took an active part in that memorable convention which sat in the earlier part of the year 1689, to decide on the claims of the prince of Orange; and when older politicians vacillated, and looked to accident for the direction of their future conduct, he boldly adopted his line of politics, and argued strongly, and it would appear not without effect, that the only fit course to pursue, was to bestow on the prince the full right of sovereignty, with those limitations only which a care for the integrity of the constitution might dictate, and without any insidious provisions which might afterwards distract the nation, by a recurrence of the claims of the house of Stuart. His zeal for the cause he had adopted prompted him at that juncture to publish a small controversial work, which he called, "The Loyalist's Reasons for his giving obedience, and swearing allegiance to the present Government, as being obliged thereto, by (it being founded on) the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, and Civil, by F. G." In the freedom of modern political discussion, the arguments which were produced as reasons for a change of government would appear a little singular; the whole is a point of law tightly argued, as if fitted to meet the eye of a cool and skilful judge, who has nothing to do but to discover its accordance or disagreement with the letter of the law. The ground, however, upon which he has met his adversaries is strictly of their own choosing, and the advocate for a revolution seems to have adhered with all due strictness to relevancy and sound law. He founds his arguments on certain postulates, from which, and the facts of the case, he deduces that king James had forfeited his superiority, by committing a grand feudal delict against his vassals; and the throne being thus vacated, he shows, in several theses, that the prince of Orange had made a conquest of the same, and had relinquished its disposal to the country, and the country having thus the choice of a ruler, ought to bestow the government on the generous conqueror. The whole is wound up by several corollaries, in a strictly syllogistic form. The reasonings are those of an acute lawyer, well interspersed with authorities from the civil and feudal law; and it may easily be presumed, that such reasoning, when applied judiciously and coolly to the subject, had more effect on the restricted intellect of the age, than the eloquence of Dalrymple, or the energy of Hamilton. Indeed the effect of the work in reconciling the feudalized minds of the Scottish gentry to the alteration, is said to have been practical and apparent; and while the author received honours and emoluments from the crown, his prudence and firmness made him respected by the party he had opposed.

The tide of Mr Grant's fortune continued to flow with steadiness from the period of this successful attempt in the political world, and he was constantly in the eye of government as a trustworthy person, whose services might be useful for furthering its measures in those precarious times. With such views, a baronetcy was bestowed on him, unexpectedly and without solicitation, in the year 1705, preparatory to the general discussion of the union of the kingdoms; and after the consummation of that measure, he was raised to the bench, where he took his seat as lord Cullen, in the year 1709. He is said to have added to the numberless controversial pamphlets on the union; and if certain pamphlets called "Essays on removing the National prejudices against a union," to which some one has attached his name, be really from his pen, (which, from the circumstance under which they bear to have been written, is rather doubtful,) they show him to have entered into the subject with a liberality of judgment, and an extent of information seldom exhibited in such controversies, and to have possessed a peculiarly acute foresight of the advantages of an interchange of com-

merce and privileges. Lord Cullen was a warm friend to the church of Scotland, a maintainer of its pristine purity, and of what is more essential than the form, or even the doctrine of any church, the means of preserving its moral influence on the character and habits of the people. "He was," says Wodrow, "very useful for the executing of the laws against immorality." The power of the judicature of a nation over its morality, is a subject to which he seems to have long paid much attention. We find him, in the year 1700, publishing a tract entitled, "A brief account of the Rise, Nature, and Progress of the Societies for the Reformation of manners, &c. in England, with a preface exhorting the use of such Societies in Scotland." This pamphlet embodies an account of the institution and regulation of those societies, by the Rev. Josiah Woodward, which the publisher recommends should be imitated in Scotland. The subject is a delicate and difficult one to a person who looks forward to a strict and impartial administration of the law as a judge, a duty which it is dangerous to combine with that of a discretionary *censor morum*; but, as a private individual, he proposes, as a just and salutary restraint, that such societies should "pretend to no authority or judicatory power, but to consult and endeavour, in subserviency to the magistracy, to promote the execution of the law, by the respective magistrates;" a species of institution often followed by well-meaning men, but which is not without danger. This tract is curious from its having been published for gratis distribution, and as perhaps the earliest practically moral tract which was published for such a purpose in Scotland. The strict religious feeling of the author afterwards displays itself in a pamphlet, called "A short History of the Sabbath, containing some few grounds for its morality, and cases about its observance; with a brief answer to, or anticipation of, several objections against both;" published in 1705. This production aims its attacks at what the author says are improperly termed the innocent recreations of the Sabbath. It has all the qualifications which are necessary to make it be received within the strictest definition of a polemical pamphlet: authorities are gathered together from all quarters of the world; the sacred text is mystically interpreted; and laboured parallels are introduced, in some cases where there is little doubt of the application, in others where common sense would never discover it. Controversial tracts are frequently the most interesting productions of any age: they are the ebullition of the feeling of the time. Called out, generally, by the excitement of a critical state of affairs, and unguarded by the thought and reflection bestowed on a lengthened work, they are, next to speeches accurately reported, the best evidence posterity possesses of the character of a public writer. Those which we have already referred to are anonymous; but we have every reason to believe they have been attributed to the proper quarter; and before we leave the subject, we shall take the liberty of referring to one more tract, which we happened to pick up in the same situation, on a subject which is now deeply occupying the attention of the public, in a position converse to that in which it was presented to the subject of our memoir. The pamphlet is directed against the restoration of church patronage; and it will be remarked that, from the date of its publication, 1703, it appeared several years previously to the passing of the dreaded measure; it is entitled, "Reasons in defence of the standing Laws about the right of Presentation in Patronages, to be offered against an Act (in case it be) presented, for the alteration thereof: by a member of Parliament." The same spirit of acute legal reasoning on rights and property, and the means by which they are affected, to be found in his arguments on the revolution, here, perhaps with better taste, characterize the author; and they are, at all events, merely the conventional colouring of sound and liberal views maintained with discretion and propriety.

Lord Cullen had, as his companions on the bench, Cockburn of Ormiston, M'Kenzie of Royston, Erskine of Dun, and Pringle of Newhall, under the presidency of Sir Hew Dalrymple, son to the celebrated viscount Stair. In the course of seventeen years, during which he filled the responsible station of a judge, and the more than ordinarily responsible situation of a Scottish judge, he is asserted by his friends to have been impartial in the interpretation of the laws, vigilant in their application, and a protector of the poor and persecuted, and, what is more conducive to the credit of the assertion, no enemy has contradicted it. A character of his manner and qualifications is thus given in rather obscure terms by Wodrow:—"His style is dark and intricate, and so were his pleadings at the bar, and his discourses on the bench. One of his fellow senators tells me he was a living library, and the most ready in citation. When the lords wanted any thing in the civil or canon law to be cast up, or acts of parliament, he never failed them, but turned to the place. He seemed a little ambulatory in his judgment as to church government, but was a man of great piety and devotion, wonderfully serious in prayer, and learning the word." It is not improbable, that by the terms "dark and intricate," the historian means, what would now be expressed by, "deep and profound." The confidence which his friends, and the country in general, reposed in his generosity and justice, is said to have been so deeply felt, that on his intimating an intention to dispose of his paternal estate, and vest the proceeds, along with his professional gains in some other investiture, many decayed families offered their shattered estates for his purchase, in the hope that his legal skill, and undeviating equity, might be the means of securing to them some small remnant of the price—which the state of incumbrance to which they had been long subjected, and the improbability of being enabled, by the intricate courses of the feudal law, to adjust the various securities, forbade them to expect by any other measure. On this occasion he purchased the estate of Monymusk, still the property of his descendants, and it is nobly recorded of him, that he used his legal acuteness in classing the various demands against the estate, and compromising with the creditors, so as to be enabled to secure a considerable surplus sum to the vender of an estate, which was burdened to an amount considerably above its value.

Although acute, however, in his management of the business of others, lord Cullen has borne the reputation of having been a most remiss and careless manager of his own affairs; a defect which seems to have been perceived and rectified by his more careful and calculating spouse, who bore on her own shoulders the whole burden of the family matters. It is narrated that this sagacious lady, finding that the ordinary care which most men bestow on their own business was ineffectual in drawing her husband's attention to the proper legal security of his property, was in the habit, in any case where her mind misgave her as to the probable effect of any measure she wished to adopt, of getting the matter represented to him in the form of a "case," on which his opinion was requested as a lawyer.

This excellent and useful man died at Edinburgh on the 23d of March, 1726, of an illness which lasted only two days, but which, from its commencement, was considered mortal, and thus prepared him to meet a speedy death. His friend, Wodrow, stating that the physician had given information of his mortal illness to lord Cullen's brother-in-law, Mr Fordyce, thus records the closing scene:—"Mr Fordyce went to him, and signified so much. My lord, after he had told him, smiled, and put forth his hand and took my informer by the hand, and said, brother, you have brought me the best news ever I heard, and signified he was desirous for death, and how welcome a message this was. He had no great pain, and spoke to the edification of all who came to see him,

and that day, and till Wednesday at 12, when he died, was without a cloud, and in full assurance of faith."¹

Besides the works already mentioned, lord Cullen published "Law, Religion, and Education, considered in three Essays," and "A Key to the Plot, by reflections on the rebellion of 1715." He left behind him three sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Sir Archibald, for some time represented the shire of Aberdeen in parliament. The second, William, was a distinguished ornament of the Scottish bar. He was at one time procurator to the church, and principal clerk to the General Assembly. In 1737, he was appointed solicitor-general, and in 1738, lord advocate, an office which he held during the rebellion of 1745; a period which must have tried the virtue of the occupier of such a situation, but which has left him the credit of having, in the words of lord Woodhouselee, performed his duties, "regulated by a principle of equity, tempering the strictness of the law." He succeeded Grant of Elchies on the bench in 1754, taking his seat as lord Prestongrange, and afterwards became lord justice clerk. He was one of the commissioners for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and afterwards one of the commissioners for the annexed estates. He died at Bath, in 1764.

GREIG, (SIR) SAMUEL, a distinguished naval officer in the Russian service, was born 30th November, 1735, in the village of Inverkeithing in the county of Fife. Having entered the royal navy at an early period of life, he soon became eminent for his skill in naval affairs, and remarkable for his zeal and attention to the discharge of his duty,—qualities which speedily raised him to the rank of lieutenant, and ultimately opened up to him the brilliant career which he afterwards pursued.

The court of Russia having requested the government of Great Britain to send out some British naval officers of skill to improve the marine of that country, lieutenant Greig had the honour of being selected as one. His superior abilities here also soon attracted the notice of the Russian government, and he was speedily promoted to the rank of captain, the reward of his indefatigable services in improving or rather creating the Russian fleet, which had been previously in the most deplorable state of dilapidation.

On a war some time after breaking out between the Russians and the Turks, captain Greig was sent under the command of count Orlov, with a fleet to the Mediterranean. The Turkish fleet, which they met here, was much superior to the Russian in force, the former consisting of fifteen ships of the line, the latter of no more than ten. After a severe and sanguinary but indecisive battle, the Turkish fleet retired during the night close into the island of Scio, where they were protected by the batteries on land. Notwithstanding the formidable position which the enemy had taken up, the Russian admiral determined to pursue, and if possible destroy them by means of his fire-ships. Captain Greig's well known skill and intrepidity pointed him out as the fittest person in the fleet to conduct this dangerous enterprise, and he was accordingly appointed to the command. At one o'clock in the morning captain Greig bore down upon the enemy with his fire-ships, and although greatly harassed by the cowardice of the crews of these vessels, whom he had to keep at their duty by the terrors of sword and pistol, succeeded in totally destroying the Turkish fleet. Captain Greig, on this occasion assisted by another British officer, a lieutenant Drysdale, who acted under him, set the match to the fire ships with his own hands. This perilous duty performed, he and Drysdale leaped overboard and swam to their own boats, under a tremendous fire from the Turks, and at the imminent hazard besides of being destroyed by the explosion of

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. v. 175.—Ad. Lib.

their own fire-ships. The Russian fleet, following up this success, now attacked the town and batteries on shore, and by nine o'clock in the morning there was scarcely a vestige remaining of either town, fortifications, or fleet. For this important service, captain Greig, who had been appointed commodore on his being placed in command of the fire-ships, was immediately promoted by count Orlov to the rank of admiral, an appointment which was confirmed by an express from the empress of Russia. A peace was soon afterwards concluded between the two powers, but this circumstance did not lessen the importance of admiral Greig's services to the government by which he was employed. He continued indefatigable in his exertions in improving the Russian fleet, remodeling its code of discipline, and by his example infusing a spirit into every department of its economy, which finally made it one of the most formidable marines in Europe.

These important services were fully appreciated by the empress, who rewarded them by promoting Greig to the high rank of admiral of all the Russias, and governor of Cronstadt. Not satisfied with this, she loaded him with honours, bestowing upon him the different orders of the empire, *viz.* St Andrew, St Alexander Newskie, St George, St Vlodomir, and St Anne.

Admiral Greig next distinguished himself against the Swedes, whose fleet he blocked up in port, whilst he himself rode triumphantly in the open seas of the Baltic. Here he was attacked by a violent fever, and having been carried to Revel, died on the 26th of October, 1788, on board of his own ship, the Rotislaw, after a few days' illness, in the 53d year of his age. As soon as the empress heard of his illness, she, in the utmost anxiety about a life so valuable to herself and her empire, instantly sent for her first physician, Dr Rogerson, and ordered him to proceed immediately to Revel and to do every thing in his power for the admiral's recovery. Dr Rogerson obeyed, but all his skill was unavailing.

The ceremonial of the admiral's funeral was conducted with the utmost pomp and magnificence. For some days before it took place the body was exposed in state in the hall of the admiralty, and was afterwards conveyed to the grave on a splendid funeral bier drawn by six horses, covered with black cloth, and attended in public procession by an immense concourse of nobility, clergy, and naval and military officers of all ranks; the whole escorted by large bodies of troops, in different divisions; with tolling of bells and firing of cannon from the ramparts and fleet: every thing in short was calculated to express the sorrow of an empire for the loss of one of its most useful and greatest men.

GREGORY, DAVID, the able commentator on Newton's Principia, and Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, was born at Aberdeen on the 24th of June, 1661. His father, Mr David Gregory, brother of the inventor of the reflecting telescope, had been educated as a merchant, and spent a considerable time in Holland; but by the death of his elder brother he became heir to the estate of Kinnairdie, and from a predilection for the mathematics and experimental philosophy, he soon afterwards renounced all commercial employments, devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of science. The peculiarity of Mr Gregory's pursuits, caused him to be noted through the whole country, and he being the first person in Scotland who possessed a barometer, from which he derived an extensive knowledge of the weather, it was universally believed that he held intercourse with the beings of another world. So extensive had this belief been circulated, that a deputation from the presbytery waited on him, and it was only one fortunate circumstance that prevented him from undergoing a formal trial for witchcraft. He had from choice obtained an extensive knowledge of the healing art, his opinion was held in the highest estimation, and as he practised

in all cases without fee, he was of great use in the district where he lived. It was this circumstance alone that prevented the reverend members of the presbytery from calling him to account for his superior intelligence. His son David, the subject of this sketch, studied for a considerable time at Aberdeen, but completed his education at Edinburgh. In 1684, when he was only twenty-three years of age, he made his first appearance as an author, in a Latin work concerning the dimensions of figures, printed in Edinburgh, and entitled, "*Exercitationes Geometricæ*." The same year in which this work was published, he was called to the mathematical chair in Edinburgh college, which he held with the greatest honour for seven years. Here he delivered some lectures on optics, which formed the substance of a work on that science, of acknowledged excellence. Here also Gregory had first been convinced of the infinite superiority of Newton's philosophy, and was the first who dared openly to teach the doctrines of the *Principia*, in a public seminary. This circumstance will ever attach honour to the name of Gregory; for let it be remembered, that in those days this was a daring innovation; and Cambridge university, in which Newton had been educated, was the very last in the kingdom to admit the truth of what is now regarded by all as the true system of the world. Whiston, in his *Memoirs of his Own Time*, bewails this in "the very anguish of his heart," calling those at Oxford and Cambridge poor wretches, when compared with those at the Scottish universities. In the year 1691 Gregory went to London, as there had been circulated a report that Dr Edmond Bernard, Savilian professor at Oxford, was about to resign, which formed a very desirable opening for the young mathematician. On his arrival in London he was kindly received by Newton, who had formed a very high opinion of him, as we learn from a letter written by Sir Isaac to Mr Flamstead, the astronomer royal. Newton had intended to make Flamstead a visit at Greenwich observatory, with a view to introduce Gregory, but was prevented by indisposition, and sent a letter with Gregory by way of introduction. "The bearer hereof is Mr Gregory, mathematical professor at Edinburgh college, Scotland. I intended to have given you a visit along with him, but cannot; you will find him a very ingenious person, a good mathematician, worthy of your acquaintance." Gregory could not fail to be highly gratified by the friendship of two of the greatest men of the age, and most particularly eminent in that department of science, which he cultivated with so much zeal and success. Such a mind as Newton's was not likely to form an opinion of any individual, on a vague conjecture of their ability, and the opinion once established would not be liable to change; accordingly we find that his attachment to the interests of the young mathematician, were only terminated by death. In a letter addressed a considerable time afterwards to the same amiable individual, he writes thus, "But I had rather have them (talking of Flamstead's observations upon Saturn, for five years, which Newton wished from him) for the next twelve or fifteen years—if you and I live not long enough, Mr Gregory and Mr Halley are young men."

Gregory's visit to London was important to his future fame as a mathematician. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and afterwards contributed many valuable papers to their transactions. At the head of these must be mentioned that which he delivered on his first introduction to their meetings, a solution of the famous Florentine problem, which had been sent as a challenge to the British mathematicians. Gregory's solution, which is extremely beautiful, will be found in the number of the *Philosophical Transactions* for January, 1694. On the 8th of February, 1692, David Gregory was made master of arts, of Balliol college, Oxford; and on the eighteenth of the same month he received the degree of doctor of physic. At this time he stood candidate with Dr Halley for the

Savilian professorship of astronomy at Oxford. Gregory had a formidable rival to contend with, as great interest was used for Halley at court, and he had besides rendered himself eminent by his numerous and important discoveries. Gregory in all likelihood would not have obtained this situation, notwithstanding the zealous intercession of Newton and Flamsteed, had it not been for a circumstance which is stated by Whiston in his *Memoirs of his Own Time*, as follows: "Halley being thought of as successor to the mathematical chair at Oxford, bishop Stillingfleet was desired to recommend him at court; but hearing that he was a sceptic and a contemner of religion, the bishop scrupled to be concerned till his chaplain Mr Bentley should tally with him about it; which he did, but Halley was so sincere in his infidelity, that he would not so much as pretend to believe the Christian religion, though he was likely to lose a professorship by it—which he did, and it was given to Dr Gregory." To the honour of science let it be mentioned, that this circumstance, which opposed the interest of these two mathematicians so directly to each other, instead of becoming the cause of these petty jealousies or animosities, which in such cases, so commonly occur, was in the present instance the foundation on which was raised a firm and lasting friendship. Nor is it perhaps too bold to suspect, that the liberality displayed in this instance by these two eminent men, proceeded not so much from themselves as from the science which they cultivated in common. The scruples of Stillingfleet in time lost their efficacy, and Gregory had soon after the pleasure of having Dr Halley as his colleague, he having succeeded Dr Wallis in the Savilian chair of Geometry.

In 1695, he published at Oxford a very valuable work on the reflection and refraction of spherical surfaces. This work is valuable as it contains the first hint for a practical method of improving the refracting telescope and destroying the chromatic defect of these instruments. The difficulty to be avoided in those telescopes which operate by glasses instead of mirrors, lies in procuring a large field of view, and at the same time retaining distinctness of vision. Gregory drew an analogy from the construction of the eye, and by referring to the method by which this was effected in nature, gave the hint that the same principle might be applied in practice. This, perhaps, paved the way for the achromatic glasses, one of the finest triumphs of modern science. A simplicity pervades the whole work truly characteristic of the author's mind. But the work on which the fame of David Gregory must ultimately depend, was published in 1702, entitled "*Elements of Physical and Geometrical Astronomy*." This work was a sort of digest of Newton's *Principia*. Great originality was shown in the illustrations, and the arrangement was so adapted as to show the progress the science had made in its various gradations towards perfection; and it was allowed by Newton himself that Gregory's work was an excellent view of his system.

Sir Henry Savile had projected a design of printing a uniform series of the ancient mathematicians; in pursuance of which Gregory published an edition of Euclid, and in conjunction with Dr Halley, he commenced the *Conics of Apollonius*; but scarcely had he entered upon this interesting undertaking, when death put a period to his existence. He departed this life in 1701, at Maidenhead in Berkshire, where it is believed his body is interred. His wife erected a monument at Oxford to his memory, with a very simple and elegant inscription. Of the talents of Dr Gregory ample testimony is borne by the works which he bequeathed to posterity, and of his worth as a private individual by the respect in which he was held by his contemporaries. Flamsteed, Keil, Halley, and above all, Sir Isaac Newton, who held him in the highest estimation. Of Newton's respect for him we shall add one other instance: Sir Isaac had in-

trusted Gregory with a copy of his *Principia* in manuscript, on which Gregory wrote a commentary; of the benefit of which the great author availed himself in the second edition. Dr John Gregory presented a manuscript copy of this to the university of Edinburgh, in the library of which it is carefully preserved. Of his posthumous works, two deserve particularly to be noticed; one on practical geometry, published by Mr Colin Maclaurin, and a small treatise on the nature and arithmetic of Logarithms, subjoined to Keil's Euclid, which contains a simple and comprehensive view of the subject.

An anecdote is told of David Gregory of Kinnairdie, Dr Gregory's father, which it would not perhaps, be altogether proper to emit. He had, as was remarked at the beginning, a turn for mathematical and mechanical subjects, and during queen Anne's wars had contrived a method to increase the effect of field ordnance. He sent it to the Savilian professor, his son, wishing his opinion, together with Sir I. Newton's. Gregory showed it to Newton, who advised him earnestly to destroy it, as said Newton, "Any invention of that kind, if it even were effectual, would soon become known to the enemy, so that it would only increase the horrors of war." There is every reason to think that the professor followed Newton's advice, as the machine was never afterwards to be found.

It is a more singular circumstance, and indeed without parallel in the scientific history of Scotland, that this old gentleman lived to see three of his sons professors at the same time, *viz.* David, the subject of the preceding sketch; James, who succeeded his brother in the chair of mathematics at Edinburgh; and Charles, professor of mathematics in the university of St Andrews.

GREGORY, JAMES, whose valuable discoveries served so much to accelerate the progress of the mathematical and physical sciences in the seventeenth century, was born in 1638, at Drumoak in Aberdeenshire, where his father, the reverend John Gregory, was minister. Little is known of James Gregory's father, but from some slight notice of him in the Minutes of the General Assembly; and whatever part of the genius of the subject of this memoir was possessed by inheritance seems to have descended from the mother. It is an observation of a distinguished philosopher of the present day, Dr Thomson, that, "he never knew a man of talent whose mother was not a superior woman;" and a more happy instance of the truth of this remark could not be found than that of James Gregory. Mrs Gregory seems to have descended from a family of mathematicians. Her father was Mr David Anderson of P'inghaugh, whose brother, Alexander Anderson, was professor of mathematics, (about the beginning of the seventeenth century,) in the university of Paris, and he himself was long noted for his application to mathematical and mechanical subjects. The reverend John Gregory died when the subject of this article was yet in his boyhood, and left the care of the education of James to David, an elder brother, and the surviving parent. The mother having observed the expanding powers of his mind, and their tendency to mathematical reasoning, gave these early indications of his genius all possible encouragement, by instructing him herself in the elements of geometry. Having received the rudiments of his classical education at the grammar school of Aberdeen, he completed the usual course of studies at Marischal college. For a considerable time after leaving the university, James Gregory devoted his attention to the science of optics. The celebrated French philosopher Descartes had published his work on Dioptrics the year before Gregory was born, nor had any advances been made in that science until James Gregory published the result of his labours in a work printed at London in 1663, entitled, "Optics Promoted, or the mysteries of reflected and refracted rays demonstrated by the elements of geometry; to which is added, an appendix, exhibiting a solution of some of the most diffi-

cult problems in astronomy." In this work, which forms an era in the history of the science of that century which its author so eminently adorned, and which was published when he was only twenty-four, there was first given to the world a description of the reflecting telescope, of which Gregory is the indisputable inventor. He proposed to himself no other advantage from using mirrors instead of glasses in the construction of telescopes, than to correct the error arising from the spherical figure of the lenses, and by forming the reflectors of a parabolic figure, to bring the rays of light into a perfect focus, being ignorant of the far greater error arising from the unequal refrangibility of the rays of light, which it was reserved for Newton afterwards to discover. Gregory went to London a year after the publication of his work on optics, with a view to the construction of his telescope, and was introduced to Mr Rieves, an optical instrument maker, by Mr Collins, secretary to the Royal Society. Rieves could not finish the mirrors on the tool so as to preserve the figure, and so unsuccessful was the trial of the new telescope that the inventor was deterred from making any farther attempts towards its improvement, nor were these reflectors ever mounted in a tube. Sir I. Newton objected to this telescope, that the hole in the centre of the large speculum would be the cause of the loss of so much light, and invented one in which this defect was remedied. The Gregorian form is universally preferred to the Newtonian, when the instrument is of moderate size, the former possessing some material advantages; yet the latter was always employed by Dr Herschel, in those large instruments, by which the field of discovery has, of late, been so much extended. Although the inventor of the reflecting telescope has received all the honour which posterity can bestow, yet it is lamentable to think that he never had the satisfaction of seeing an instrument completed in his own lifetime. It is only necessary to remark farther, on this subject, that some papers of great interest passed between Gregory and Sir Isaac Newton, concerning the reflecting telescope, which may be consulted with advantage by those who would wish to investigate the subject. His work on optics contains, besides the discovery of the reflecting telescope, that of the law of refraction. Descartes had made a similar discovery long ere this, but Gregory had not heard of it till his own work was ready for publication—to which circumstance he alludes in his preface. Playfair, in considering this subject, very justly remarks, that "though the optics of Descartes had been published twenty-five years, Gregory had not heard of the discovery of the law of refraction, and had found it out only by his own efforts;—happy in being able, by the fertility of his genius, to supply the defects of an insulated and remote situation." The method in which Gregory investigated the law of refraction is truly remarkable, not only for its singular elegance, but originality, and the series of experiments which he instituted for the purpose of demonstration, affords an indelible proof of the accuracy of his observations. It is truly remarkable, that the calculations by this law differ so little from those obtained by the most accurate experiments. There is yet another discovery of the very highest importance to the science of astronomy, which is falsely and, we would hope, unknowingly attributed to another philosopher, whose manifold brilliant discoveries throw an additional lustre over the country which gave him birth. We allude to the employment of the transits of Mercury and Venus, in the determination of the sun's parallax, the merit of which is always ascribed to Dr Halley, even by that eminent astronomer Laplace. But it is plainly pointed out in the scholium to the 28th proposition of Gregory's work, published many years prior to Halley's supposed discovery. The university of Padua was at

¹ Playfair's Dissertation, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, part 1st, page 25, 6th edition.

this time in high repute for mathematical learning, and Gregory repaired thither from London, about the end of 1667, for the purpose of prosecuting his favourite study. Here he published a Latin work on the areas of the circle and hyperbola, determined by an infinitely converging series; a second edition of which he afterwards published at Venice, with an appendix on the transmutation of curves. Mr Collins, who always showed himself zealous in Gregory's favour, introduced this work to the notice of the Royal Society of London, of which he was secretary. This work received the commendation of that distinguished nobleman lord Brouncker, and Dr Wallis, the celebrated inventor of the arithmetic of infinites. Gregory's attention was once more drawn to the squaring of curves, by the method of converging series, on account of receiving an instance of the case of the circle in a letter from his friend Collins, who informed him that Newton had discovered a general method for all curves, mechanical and geometrical. Gregory speedily returned to Collins a method for the same purpose, which he was advised by his brother David to publish. Gregory refused to do this, and that from the most honourable motive: as Newton was the original inventor, he deemed it unfair to publish it, until Sir Isaac should give his method to the public. Soon after, he returned to London, and from his celebrity as a mathematician, he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society. He read before the society, the account of a dispute in Italy concerning the motion of the earth, which Riccioli and his followers had denied, besides many other valuable communications. Huygens had attacked Gregory's method of quadrature in a journal of that period, to which he replied in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The dispute was carried on with great warmth by both, and from Gregory's defence it would appear he was a man of warm temperament, but acute and penetrating genius. Of the merits of either, in this dispute, it would be out of place here to enter into detail. Leibnitz, who considered the subject with attention, and whose capacity of discernment in such matters cannot be questioned, is of opinion, that although Huygens did not point out errors in the work of Gregory, yet he obtained some of the results by a much simpler method.

The small work "*Exercitationes Geometricæ*," published by Gregory at London in 1668, consisted of twenty-six pages, containing however a good deal of important matter. No where do we learn more of the real private character of Gregory than in the preface and appendix to this little work. He speaks in explicit terms of his dispute with Huygens, complains of the injustice done him by that philosopher and some others of his contemporaries; and we are led to conclude from them, that he was a man who, from a consciousness of his own powers, was jealous of either a rival or improver of any invention or discovery with which he was connected. The same year in which he published this last work, he was chosen professor of mathematics in the university of St Andrews. The year following he married Miss Mary Jamieson, daughter of Mr George Jamieson, the painter whom Walpole has designated the Vandyke of Scotland. By his wife he had a son and two daughters. The son, James, was grandfather of Dr Gregory, author of the "*Theoreticæ Medicinæ*," and professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. James Gregory remained at St Andrews for six years, when he was called to fill the mathematical chair in the university of Edinburgh. During his residence at St Andrews, he wrote a satire on a work of Mr George Sinclair's, formerly professor of natural philosophy in Glasgow, but who had been dismissed on account of some political heresies. Dr Gregory did not live to enjoy the chair in Edinburgh more than one year; for returning home late one evening in October, 1675, after showing some of his students the satellites of Jupiter, he was suddenly struck blind, and three days afterwards expired. Thus, at the early age of thirty-seven, in the vigour

of manhood, was put a melancholy termination to the life of James Gregory. Of the character of this great man little can be said. The following extract from a letter of his to Mr Collins, will show that he possessed a considerable degree of independence and warmth of temper. Talking of some circumstance connected with his dispute with Mr Huygens, he remarks—"but I am not so much a Christian as to help those that hurt me. I know not, neither do I wish to know, who calleth me in that preface *judicious*, [Huygens's animadversions, of November the 10th, 1668,] but I would rather desire that he would particularize (if he ben't an ignorant,) in what my answer, which is contradictory to Huygens's animadversions, is faulty. For in geometrical matters, if any thing be judicious, its contradictory must be nonsense. I don't know what need there was for any apology for inserting my answer, but to compliment Huygens, and violently, if possible, to bear down the truth. I imagine such actions below the meanest member of the Royal Society; however, I may have permission to call to an account in print, the penners of that preface." Yet though spirited, he was not by any means vain, which may be seen from a short extract of another letter to the same individual, who always evinced himself his firm friend. Some hints had been circulated that he was likely to receive a pension from the French government, which Gregory knew well how to interpret, and never expected it. "I have sufficient experience of the uncertainty of things of that nature before this time, which maketh me, since I came to Scotland, however mean and despicable my situation may be, to rest contented and satisfied with this, that I am at home in a settled condition, by which I can live. I have known many learned men far above me on every account, with whom I would not change my condition."

GREGORY, (Dr) JOHN, a distinguished physician of the eighteenth century, was descended from a family of illustrious men, whose names and discoveries will ever form a brilliant page in the history of the literature of Scotland. Many of the members of this family held professorships in the most distinguished universities, both in this and the southern kingdom; and we may turn to the name of Gregory for those who raised Scotland to an equal rank with any other nation in the scientific world. John Gregory was born at Aberdeen, on the 3rd of June, 1724, being the youngest of the three children of James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's college there. This professor of medicine was a son of James Gregory, the celebrated inventor of the reflecting telescope.

When John Gregory was seven years of age, he lost his father, wherefore the charge of his education devolved upon his elder brother, James, who succeeded his father in the professorship. He acquired his knowledge of classical literature at the grammar school of Aberdeen, where he applied himself with much success to the study of the Greek and Latin languages. He completed a course of languages and philosophy, at King's college, Aberdeen, under the immediate care of principal Chalmers, his grandfather by the mother's side. He studied with great success under Mr Thomas Gordon, the professor of philosophy in that college; and, to the honour of both, a friendly correspondence was then commenced, which was maintained till the end of Gregory's life. In noticing those to whom Gregory was indebted for his early education, it would be unpardonable to pass over the name of Dr Reid, his cousin-german; the same whose "Inquiry into the Human Mind" forms so conspicuous a feature in the history of the intellectual philosophy of the eighteenth century;—and here we may remark the existence of that family spirit for mathematical reasoning, which has so long been entailed on the name of Gregory. The essay on quantity, and the chapter on the geometry of visibles, prove this eminently in Dr Reid; and

the success with which Gregory studied under Mr Gordon, can leave no doubt of its existence in him. In 1741, Gregory lost his elder brother George, a young man concerning whom there was entertained the highest expectation; and the year following, John and his mother removed from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. He studied three years at Edinburgh, under Monro, Sinclair, and Rutherford; and on his first coming to Edinburgh, he became a member of the medical society there, which was the cause of an intimacy between him and Mark Akenside, author of "The Pleasures of Imagination."

The university of Leyden was at this time in very high reputation, and Gregory repaired thither, after having studied at Edinburgh for three years. Here he had as his preceptors, three of the most eminent men of the age—Goubius, Royen, and Albinus; he also cultivated the acquaintance of some fellow students who afterwards became eminent in the literary and political world; amongst whom the most eminent were John Wilkes, esq., and the honourable Charles Townshend. While prosecuting his studies at Leyden, John Gregory was honoured with an unsolicited degree of doctor of medicine, from King's college, Aberdeen; and after two years' residence on the continent, he returned to his native country, and was immediately called to fill the chair of philosophy in that seminary where he had first been nurtured, and which, lately, had conferred on him so great a mark of her regard. He lectured for three years at Aberdeen on the mathematics, and moral and natural philosophy; when, in 1749, from a desire to devote himself to the practice of medicine, he resigned, and took a few weeks' tour to the continent, of which the chief object seems to have been amusement. Three years after the resignation of his professorship, Dr Gregory married Miss Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of lord Forbes, a lady of extraordinary wit, beauty, and intellectual endowment.

The field of medical practice in Aberdeen was already almost entirely pre-occupied by men of the first eminence in their profession, and the share which fell to Dr Gregory was not sufficient to occupy his active mind. He went to London in 1754, and his fame as a physician and as a literary man being already far extended, he had no difficulty in being introduced to the first society. Here it was that the foundation was first laid of that friendship which existed between him and lord Lyttleton. It was at this period, also, that he became acquainted with lady Wortley Montague and her husband. This lady kept assemblies, or conversaziones, where the first characters of the kingdom resorted. By this lady he was introduced to all the most eminent men in the kingdom for taste or genius; yet he is indebted to her for a favour of a far higher order—the continuance of that friendship she had ever shown towards him, to his posterity. About this period Dr Gregory was chosen fellow of the Royal Society of London, and his practice was daily increasing. Dr James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's college, Aberdeen, to whose care Gregory owed so much, died in 1755, which created a vacancy in that chair. Dr John Gregory was elected in his own absence, and being a situation which suited his inclination he accepted it. There were many circumstances which would render a return to his native country agreeable. He was to be restored to the bosom of the friends of his infancy, he was to be engaged in the duties of a profession in which he felt the highest interest, and to the enjoyment of the society of Reid, Beattie, Campbell, and Gerard. He entered on the duties of his new office in the beginning of 1756.

A literary club met weekly in a tavern in Aberdeen, which was originally projected by Drs Reid and Gregory. It was called the Wise Club, and its members consisted of the professors of both Marischal and King's college, besides the literary and scientific gentlemen about Aberdeen. An essay was read each

night by one of the members, in rotation; afterwards it was discussed, and the person who read the essay, was obliged to digest the remarks of the society, by way of an appendix, and give it in to the secretary, along with the essay, to be retained as the property of the society. Most of the distinguishing features of the philosophical systems of Gregory and his colleagues, who have been already mentioned, were first delivered in this society. Gregory's work on the faculties of man and other animals, was first composed as essays for the Wise Club, but afterwards arranged and published under the patronage of his friend lord Lyttleton—the first instance in which Gregory appeared to the world as an author. This work, which was published in London, 1764, was entitled “A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with those of the animal world.” It contains ideas which the author had long before settled in his own mind, and may be viewed as an attempt to arrange them. Whatever opinion may be formed as to the individual importance of these opinions, one thing must be allowed by every attentive reader of the volume under consideration, that at least they are consistent one with another. It may not be out of place here to give a very brief sketch of the system involved in the comparative view, which the author in his preface has done, though rather diffusely. He views the condition of men in three different stages. In the savage state, the animal propensities and bodily functions are improved, with a corresponding neglect of the faculties of the mind. In a state advanced from this, the social affections begin to dawn—war becomes regulated more upon principles of honour; the human virtues and patriotism begin to display themselves, together with courage and generosity. The next state comes on, and we find mankind influenced with a desire to extend the boundaries of their country—trade and commerce become more the objects of attention, which are followed by luxury and a taste for the fine arts. Invention is excited by the wants of luxury, and industry employed to produce them—wealth procures leisure, and leisure induces the cultivation of the understanding, and enlargement of the boundaries of science. There cannot exist a state of society where the several excellencies of all these stages exist, yet although this is not possible in society at large, it is quite possible in individuals. For although no nation can be perfect in every particular excellence, yet one man may have a well formed body, a good heart, and a well cultivated understanding. His observations on the management of children are truly excellent, and urge strongly the necessity of attending to nature more than art in their nurture and education. One passage we cannot but insert, as it expresses forcibly the author's ideas on this subject: “the happiest period of human life, the days of health, cheerfulness, and innocence, on which we always reflect with pleasure, not without some mixture of regret, are spent in the midst of tears, punishment, and slavery; and this is to answer no other end but to make a child a man some years before nature intended he should be so.” His observations on religion and scepticism are truly excellent, both in a practical and philosophical point of view; and his remarks on taste and the fine arts show that he was a man of acute perception, and extensive knowledge of the world.

Dr Gregory remained in the chair of medicine in Aberdeen for eight years, when, with a view to the increase of his practice, he removed to Edinburgh, and two years afterwards was appointed successor to Dr Rutherford in the university there, as professor of the practice of physic, and in the same year, 1766, he succeeded Dr Whyt as first physician to his majesty in Scotland. Dr Gregory lectured for three years solely on the practice of physic; but at that time an agreement was entered into by his honoured colleague Dr Cullen, the celebrated author of the system of Nosology which goes by his name—that they should

lecture in turn on the theory and practice of medicine, which was continued for many years. None of Dr Gregory's lectures were ever written, except a few introductory ones on the duties and qualifications of a physician : which probably would not have made its appearance, had it not been the circumstance of one of his students offering a written copy, taken from notes, to a bookseller for sale, which induced Gregory to publish the work, the profits of which he gave to a poor and deserving student. This will always be a standard work among medical men, and will ever remain a lasting monument of the author's profound research, energy of mind, and liberality of opinion. Nothing could so effectually convince us, as the perusal of this work, of the truth of one of his observations—"that the profession of medicine requires a more comprehensive mind than any other." This work was published in 1770, and the same year he published his *Elements of the Practice of Physic*, a work which was intended as a text book for his pupils, and was excellent as far as it went, but never was completed.

The amiable and accomplished wife of Dr Gregory lived only with him nine years, during which period he enjoyed all the pleasure which domestic happiness could afford. He regretted her death exceedingly; and, as he says himself, he for the amusement of his solitary hours, wrote that inimitable little work "*A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*." In this work he feelingly states, that while he endeavours to point out to them what they should be, he draws but a very faint and imperfect picture of what their mother was. This admirable little volume, which should be put into the hands of every young woman, is the result of the extensive observation of an acute man, who had seen much of the world, who was keenly alive to all the better feelings of the human heart, and delivered his sentiments with all the warmth and interest of an affectionate parent. He wisely struck a path between the systems of Chesterfield and Rousseau; he neither wished his pupil to be a rude unfinished bar of metal, nor did he wish that the same bar should be superficially laid over with a lacquer of gold, to hide the outward imperfections; but that it should go through a regular process of refinement, and be to appearance what it was in reality.

Gregory inherited from his mother a disease, with which he had from the age of eighteen been frequently attacked. This was the gout, of which his mother died suddenly while sitting at table. The doctor often talked of this to his friends, and one day when talking with Dr James Gregory, his son (author of the *Conspectus Theoreticæ Medicinæ*), it was observed by the latter, that as he had not an attack these three years past, it was likely the next would be pretty severe. Dr Gregory was not pleased with this remark of his son, but unfortunately the prediction was true. Dr Gregory had gone to bed in his usual health on the ninth of February, 1773, and seems to have died in his sleep, as he was found in the morning without the slightest appearance of discomposure of feature or limb. Dr Beattie laments him pathetically in the concluding stanzas of the minstrel:—

Art thou, my Gregory, for ever fled,
And am I left to unavailing woe;
When fortune's storms assail this weary head
Where cares long since have shed untimely snow!
Ah! now for ever whither shall I go?
No more thy soothing voice my anguish cheers,
Thy placid eyes with smile no longer glow,
My hopes to cherish and allay my fears.
Tis meet that I should mourn—flow forth afresh, my tears.

"Dr Gregory was considerably above the middle size," and although he

could not be called handsome, yet he was formed in good proportion. He was slow in his motion, and had a stoop forward. His eye and countenance had a rather dull appearance until they were lighted up by conversation. His conversation was lively and always interesting; and although he had seen much of the world, was never given to that miserable refuge of weak minds—story telling. In his lecturing he struck the golden mean between formal delivery, and the ease of conversation. Before going into the class he read those works on the subject which he considered necessary; and having arranged his knowledge by writing a skeleton of the heads of his lecture, he went and delivered his lecture. He encouraged learning and merit, wherever he found them, and ever showed himself assiduous in promoting the interests of his students or friends. His kindness and philanthropy were equally remarkable in his practice; but his generosity was not known so extensively as it might, had he been possessed of any share of ostentation. He left two sons and two daughters: Dr James Gregory, who was the able successor of his father in the university of Edinburgh, whose late and lamented death produced such a sensation in this part of the kingdom; William Gregory, rector of St Mary's, Bentham; Dorothea, the wife of the Rev. W. Allison of Balliol college; and Margaret, wife of J. Forbes, Esq. of Blackford.

GREY, ALEXANDER, a surgeon in the service of the honourable East India Company, and founder of an hospital for the sick poor of the town and county of Elgin, was the son of deacon Alexander Grey, a respectable and ingenious tradesman of Elgin, who exercised the united crafts of a wheel-wright and watchmaker, and of Janet Sutherland, of whose brother, Dr Sutherland, the following anecdote is related by some of the oldest inhabitants of Elgin. It is said that the king of Prussia, Frederick William I. being desirous to have his family inoculated with small pox, applied in England for a surgeon to repair to Berlin for that purpose. Though this was an honourable, and probably lucrative mission, yet from the severe and arbitrary character of the king, it was regarded by many as a perilous undertaking to the individual, as it was not impossible that he might lose some of his patients. Sutherland, at all hazards, offered his services,—was successful in the treatment of his royal patients, and was handsomely rewarded. On his return to England, his expedition probably brought him more into public notice, for we afterwards find him an M.D. residing and practising as a physician at Bath, until he lost his sight, when he came to Elgin, and lived with the Greys for some years previous to 1775, when he died.

Deacon Grey had a family of three sons and two daughters, and by his own industry and some pecuniary assistance from Dr Sutherland, he was enabled to give them a better education than most others in their station. Alexander, the subject of this memoir, born in 1751, was the youngest of the family. Induced by the advice or success of his uncle, he made choice of the medical profession, and was apprenticed for the usual term of three years to Dr Thomas Stephen, a physician of great respectability in Elgin. He afterwards attended the medical classes in the college of Edinburgh, and having completed his education he obtained the appointment of an assistant surgeoncy on the Bengal establishment. It does not appear that he was distinguished either by his professional skill or literary acquirements, from the greater proportion of his professional brethren in the east. When advanced in life, he married a lady much younger than himself, and this ill-assorted match caused him much vexation, and embittered his few remaining years. They had no children, and as there was no congeniality in their dispositions nor agreement in their habits, they separated some time before Dr Grey's death, which happened in 1808. By economical

habits he amassed a considerable fortune, and it is the manner in which he disposed of it that gives him a claim to be ranked among distinguished Scotsmen.

It is no improbable supposition that, in visiting the indigent patients of the humane physician under whom he commenced his professional studies, his youthful mind was impressed with the neglected and uncomfortable condition of the sick poor of his native town, and that when he found himself a man of wealth without family, the recollection of their situation recurred, and he formed the benevolent resolution of devoting the bulk of his fortune to the endowment of an hospital for their relief. He bequeathed for this purpose, in the first instance, twenty thousand pounds, besides about seven thousand available at the deaths of certain annuitants, and four thousand pounds more, liable to another contingency. From various causes, over which the trustees appointed by the deed of settlement had no control, considerable delay was occasioned in realizing the funds, and the hospital was not opened for the reception of patients until the beginning of 1819. It is an elegant building of two stories, in the Grecian style, after a design by James Gillespie, Esq. architect, and is erected on a rising ground to the west of Elgin. The funds are under the management of the member of parliament for the county, the sheriff depute, and the two clergymen of the established church, *ex officio*, with three life directors named by the founder in the deed of settlement. A physician and surgeon appointed by the trustees at fixed salaries, attend daily in the hospital. For several years there was a prejudice against the institution among the class for whom it was founded, but this gradually wore off, and the public are now fully alive to, and freely avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

Mr Grey did not limit his beneficence to the founding and endowing of the hospital which will transmit his name to future generations; he bequeathed the annual interest of two thousand pounds to "the reputed old maids in the town of Elgin, daughters of respectable but decayed families." This charity is placed under the management of the two clergymen and the physicians of the town of Elgin, and it is suggested that, to be useful, it ought not to extend beyond eight or ten individuals. At the death of Mrs Grey, a farther sum of one thousand pounds will fall into this fund. The annual interest of seven thousand pounds was settled on the widow during her life, and at her death it is directed that four thousand pounds of the principal shall be appropriated to the building of a new church in the town of Elgin, under the inspection of the two clergymen of the town, and that the interest of this sum shall be applied to the use of the hospital until a church shall be required. This is the contingency already referred to; and as a durable and handsome new church, of dimensions sufficient to accommodate the population of the town and parish, was erected by the heritors at an expense exceeding eight thousand pounds only a few years ago, the funds of the hospital, in all probability, will for a long time have the advantage of the interest of this bequest. Grey was kind, and even liberal to his relatives during his life, and to his sister, the only member of his family who survived him, he left a handsome annuity, with legacies to all her family unprovided for at her death. On the whole he seems to have been a warm-hearted and benevolent man; but being disappointed in the happiness which he expected from his matrimonial connexion, his temper was soured, and a considerable degree of peevishness and distrust is evident throughout the whole of his deed of settlement. Whatever were his failings, his memory will be cherished by the thousands of poor for whom he has provided medical succour in the hour of distress; while the public at large cannot fail to remember with respect, a man who displayed so much benevolence and judgment in the disposal of the gifts of fortune.

GUILD, WILLIAM, an eminent divine, was the son of a wealthy tradesman in Aberdeen, where he was born in the year 1586. He received his education at Marischal college, then recently founded; and, while still very young, and before taking orders, published at London a work entitled "The New Sacrifice of Christian Incense," and another soon after, called "The Only Way to Salvation." His first pastoral charge was over the parish of King Edward, in the presbytery of Tureff and synod of Aberdeen. He here acquired both the affections of his flock, and an extended reputation as a man of learning and address, so that, when king James visited Scotland in 1617, bishop Andrews, who accompanied his majesty as an assistant in his schemes for the establishment of episcopacy, paid great attention to this retired northern clergyman, and took much of his advice regarding the proper method of accomplishing the object in view. Mr Guild acknowledged his sense of the bishop's condescension, by dedicating to him in the following year his excellent work entitled "Moses Unveiled," which points out the figures in the Old Testament allusive to the Messiah. This was a branch of theological literature which Mr Guild had made peculiarly his own province, as he evinced further in the course of a few years, by his work entitled "The Harmony of the Prophets."

In 1610, Mr Guild was married to Catharine Rolland, daughter of Rolland of Disblair, by whom he had no issue. Not long after the royal visit above alluded to, he was appointed one of the king's chaplains. The degree of doctor of divinity was also conferred upon him. From his retirement at King Edward, he sent out various theological works of popular utility, and at the same time solid learning and merit. Of these his "Ignis Fatuus," against the doctrine of Purgatory, "Popish glorying in antiquity turned to their shame," and his "Compend of the Controversies of Religion," are particularly noticed by his biographers. In the mean time he displayed many marks of attachment to his native city, particularly by endowing an hospital for the incorporated trades, which is described by Mr Kennedy, the historian of Aberdeen, as now enjoying a revenue of about £1000, and affording relief to upwards of a hundred individuals annually. In 1631, he was preferred to one of the pulpits of that city, and took his place amongst as learned and able a body of local clergy as could be shown at that time in any part of either South or North Britain. His distinction among the Aberdeen Doctors, as they were called, in the controversy which they maintained against the covenanters, was testified by his being their representative at the general assembly of 1638, when the system of church government to which he and his brethren were attached, was abolished. The views and practice of Dr Guild in this trying crisis, seem to have been alike moderate; and he accordingly appears to have escaped much of that persecution which befell his brethren. He endeavoured to heal the animosities of the two parties, or rather to moderate the ardour of the covenanters, to whom he was conscientiously opposed, by publishing "A Friendly and Faithful Advice to the Nobility, Gentry, and others;" but this, it is to be feared, had little effect. In 1640, notwithstanding his position in regard to the popular cause, he was chosen principal of King's college, and in June, 1641, he preached his last sermon as a clergyman of the city. The king, about this time signified his approbation of Dr Guild's services, by bestowing upon him "a free gift of his house and garden, which had formerly been the residence of the bishop." The reverend principal, in his turn, distributed the whole proceeds of the gift in charity.

Dr Guild continued to act as principal of King's college till he was deposed by Monk in 1651, after which he resided in Aberdeen as a private individual. In his retirement he appears to have written several works—"the Sealed Book Opened," or an explanation of the Apocalypse, and "the Novelty of Popery

Discovered," which was published at Aberdeen in 1656, and "an Explication of the Song of Solomon," which appeared two years after in London. He also exerted himself during this interval in improving the 'Trades' Hospital, and in other charitable pursuits. Upon these incorporations he bestowed a house on the south side of Castle Street (in Aberdeen,) the yearly rents of which he directed to be applied as bursaries, to such of the sons of members as might be inclined to prosecute an academical course of education in the Marischal college; and of this fund, we are informed by Mr Kennedy, six or eight young men generally participate every year. As an appropriate conclusion to a life so remarkably distinguished by acts of beneficence, Dr Guild, in his will dated 1657, bequeathed seven thousand merks, to be secured on land, and the yearly profit to be applied to the maintenance of poor orphans. By the same document, he destined his library to the university of St Andrews, excepting one manuscript, supposed to be the original of the memorable letter from the states of Bohemia and Moravia, to the council of Constance in 1415, relative to John Huss and Jerome of Prague: this curious paper he bequeathed to the university of Edinburgh, where it is still faithfully preserved. Dr Guild died in August, 1657, aged about 71 years. A manuscript work which he left was transmitted by his widow to Dr John Owen, to whom it was designed to have been dedicated, and who published it at Oxford in 1659, under the title of "The Throne of David; or an Exposition of Second [Book of] Samuel." Mrs Guild, having no children upon whom to bestow her wealth, dedicated it to the education of young men and other benevolent purposes; and it appears that her foundations lately maintained six students of philosophy, four scholars at the public school, two students of divinity, six poor widows, and six poor men's children.

GUTHRIE, HENRY, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was born at the manse of Coupar-Augus, of which his father, Mr John Guthrie, a cadet of the family of Guthrie of that ilk, was minister. At an early age he made considerable progress in the acquisition of the Greek and Latin languages, and was soon afterwards transferred to the university of St Andrews, where he continued to study with the same success, and took his degrees in arts. After finishing the philosophical part of his education, he became a student of divinity in the New College at the same place.

The qualifications of Mr Guthrie, added to the great respectability of his family, easily procured for him the appointment of a chaplain, which was then considered as a sure step to promotion in the church. The family of the earl of Marr, with whom he remained in that capacity for several years, treated him with much respect; and on leaving them, he obtained through the earl's recommendation, a presentation to the church of Stirling, to which he was episcopally ordained.¹

"Being now a minister in the church," says his biographer, Mr Crawford, "he was diligent in the pastoral care in all the parts of his function, and was well affected to the government in church and state." Unfortunately for Mr Guthrie, however, the minds of the Scottish people had become impatient under the innovations begun by king James, and obtruded upon them with less caution by his son. But in justice to the moderate episcopalians, it must be mentioned, that they disapproved of the introduction of a liturgy by force.

At length the call for a General Assembly became so urgent, that its "induction" was consented to by the king, and it accordingly took place at Glasgow in 1638. Guthrie, with many of his colleagues, took the covenant required by it, but does not seem to have obtained much credit with his brethren in the ministry; nor was his conduct, viewed in the most favourable light, conciliating.

¹ Account of Guthrie by Crawford, preface to his Memoirs, edit. 1738, pp. 3-5.

Upon the establishment of Episcopacy in Ireland, some of the Scottish inhabitants had determined to emigrate to New England, where liberty of conscience was permitted, but were driven back by storm, and as conformity was rigidly insisted upon, many of them returned to Scotland, where they obtained a favourable reception. The "errors of Brownism," had, in the meantime, crept in among them, but their remarkable piety procured the good will of the people, till they reached our author's parish of Stirling. The laird of Leckie, a gentleman who is said to have suffered much at the hands of the bishops, was at this time much esteemed for his intelligence and seriousness, and many who could not conscientiously acquiesce in the services of the church, had been in the habit of assembling with him for the exercise of private worship. In these meetings, it had been alleged, but whether with truth we are not informed, that he had in prayer used some expressions prejudicial to Mr Guthrie. The holders of such meetings were therefore "delated" before the presbytery, and expelled their bounds, but Guthrie was not willing to dismiss them so easily—he left no means untried to injure their character, and the name of "sectarian" was at this time too powerful a weapon in the hands of a merciless enemy. In the assembly of 1639, he tried to obtain an act against private meetings; but some of the leading clergymen, fearing more injury to the cause of religion from his injudicious zeal than from the meetings he attempted to suppress, prevented the matter from being publicly brought before the assembly. He was still, however, determined to have some stronger weapon in his hand than that of argument—a weapon it need hardly be said the assembly allowed him,—and in order to prepare for a decisive conclusion at the next session, he roused the northern ministers, "putting them in great vehemency," to use Baillie's expression, "against all these things he complained of." Accordingly, in the assembly of 1640, after much debate, an act anent the ordering of family worship, was passed. By this act it was ordained, that not more than the members of one family should join in private devotion—that reading prayers is lawful where no one can express themselves extemporaneously—that no one should be permitted to expound the Scriptures but ministers or expectants approved of by the presbytery—and, lastly, that no innovation should be permitted without the express concurrence of the assembly. But this decision rather widened than appeased their differences, and the subject was again investigated in 1641, when an act against impiety and schism was drawn up by Mr Alexander Henderson.

For several years after this period, little is mentioned by our historians relative to Mr Guthrie. On Sunday the 3d of October, 1641, he had the honour of preaching before his majesty in the abbey church of Edinburgh,¹ but Sir James Balfour does not give us any outline of this sermon—a circumstance the more to be regretted as none of his theological works have come down to us. In his memoirs he mentions having addressed the assembly of 1643, when the English divines presented a letter from the Westminster Assembly, and the declaration of the English parliament, in which we are told they proposed "to extirpate episcopacy root and branch." It is remarkable that principal Baillie, the most minute of all our ecclesiastical historians of that period, and who has left behind him a journal of the proceedings of that very assembly, takes no notice of this speech; but it is evident from what he says elsewhere, that the presbyterians found it necessary to overawe Mr Guthrie. He had, in name of the presbytery of Stirling, written "a most bitter letter" to Mr Robert Douglas, "concerning the commissioners of the General Assembly's declaration against the cross petition; and though it was afterwards recalled, it seems to have been used *in terrorem*, for, to quote the expressive words of Mr Baillie, "Mr Harry

¹ Balfour's Historical Works, vol. iii. p. 89.

Guthrie made no din" in that assembly. The last public appearance he made while minister of Stirling was in 1647, when the king was delivered by the Scots to the English parliament. He was among the number of those who exonerated themselves of any share or approval of that transaction; "and as for the body of the ministry throughout the kingdom," says he, "the far greater part disallowed it; howbeit, loathness to be deprived of their function and livelihood restrained them from giving a testimony."¹

It has been already stated, that the Scottish clergy do not appear to have placed much confidence in Mr Guthrie; and from his opposition to many of their favourite measures, this is little to be wondered at. In 1647, when the parliament declared for "the engagement," the ministers declaimed against it, as containing no provision for the support of their religion; but Guthrie and some others preached up the lawfulness of the design, and although no notice was taken of this at the time, no sooner was the Scottish army defeated, than they were considered proper subjects of discipline. "Upon November fourteenth, [1648], came to Stirling that commission which the General Assembly had appointed, to depose ministers in the presbyteries of Stirling and Dumblane, for their malignancy, who thrust out Mr Henry Guthrie and Mr John Allan, ministers of the town of Stirling," &c.²

From the period of his dismissal from his charge, till after the Restoration, Guthrie lived in retirement. He is mentioned by Lamont of Newton, as "minister of Kilspindie in the Carse of Gowrie;"³ but the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling, in his edition of Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, merely says that he lived there. In 1661, when Mr James Guthrie was executed on account of his writings, Henry Guthrie became entitled by law, and was indeed invited by the town council, to resume his duties at Stirling, but he declined on account of bad health.⁴ He was well known to the earl of Lauderdale, and was recommended by him to the diocese of Dumblane, then void by the death of bishop Halyburton. He had during his retirement devoted his attention to the study of church government, and had become convinced, "that a parity in the church could not possibly be maintained, so as to preserve unity and order among them, and that a superior authority must be brought in to settle them in unity and peace." With this conviction, and with a sufficient portion of good health for this appointment, he accepted the diocese, and remained in it till his death, which happened in 1676.

The only work which bishop Guthrie is known to have left behind him, is his "Memoirs, containing an Impartial Relation of the affairs of Scotland, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the year 1637 to the Death of King Charles I."—written, it is believed, at Kilspindie. The impartiality of his "Relation" is often questionable,—nor could we expect that it should be otherwise, at a period when both civil and ecclesiastical dudgeon ran so high. In point of style it forms a striking contrast to most of the other histories of that time, which, however valuable otherwise, are often tedious and uninteresting.

GUTHRIE, JAMES, one of the most zealous of the protesters, as they were called, during the religious troubles of the 17th century, was the son of the laird of Guthrie, an ancient and highly respectable family. Guthrie was educated at St Andrews, where, having gone through the regular course of classical learning, he commenced teacher of philosophy, and was much esteemed, as well for the equanimity of his temper as for his erudition. His religious principles in the

¹ Memoirs, edit. 1749, p. 239.

² Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 299.

³ Lamont's Diary, edit. 1830, p. 181.

⁴ Mr Stirling's Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 376, note.

earlier part of his life are said to have been highly prelatical, and, of course, opposite to those which he afterwards adopted, and for which, in the spirit of a martyr, he afterwards died. His conversion from the forms in which he was first bred, is attributed principally to the influence of Mr Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth, himself a zealous and able defender of the Scottish church, with whom he had many opportunities of conversing.

In 1638 Mr Guthrie was appointed minister of Lauder, where he remained for several years, and where he had already become so celebrated as to be appointed one of the several ministers selected by the committee of estates, then sitting in Edinburgh, to wait upon the unfortunate Charles I. at Newcastle, when it was learned that the unhappy monarch had delivered himself up to the Scottish army encamped at Newark.

In 1649, Mr Guthrie was translated from Lauder to Stirling, where he remained until his death. While in this charge he continued to distinguish himself by the zeal and boldness with which he defended the covenant, and opposed the resolutions in favour of the king (Charles II.). He was now considered leader of the protesters, a party opposed to monarchy, and to certain indulgences proposed by the sovereign and sanctioned by the committee of estates, and who were thus contra-distinguished from the resolutioners, which comprehended the greater part of the more moderate of the clergy.

Mr Guthrie had, in the meantime, created himself a powerful enemy in the earl of Middleton, by proposing to the commission of the General Assembly to excommunicate him for his hostility to the church; the proposal was entertained, and Guthrie himself was employed to carry it into execution in a public manner in the church of Stirling. It is related by those who were certainly no friends to Guthrie, regarding this circumstance, that on the morning of the Sabbath on which the sentence of excommunication was to be carried into effect against Middleton, a messenger, a nobleman it is said, arrived at Mr Guthrie's house with a letter from the king, earnestly requesting him to delay the sentence for that Sabbath. The bearer, waiting until he had read the letter, demanded an answer. Guthrie is said to have replied, "you had better come to church and hear sermon, and after that you shall have your answer." The messenger complied; but what was his surprise, when he heard the sentence pronounced in the usual course of things, as if no negotiation regarding it had taken place. On the dismissal of the congregation, he is said to have taken horse and departed in the utmost indignation, and without seeking any further interview with Guthrie. It is certain that a letter was delivered to Guthrie, of the tenor and under the circumstances just mentioned, but it was not from the king, but, according to Wodrow, on the authority of his father who had every opportunity of knowing the fact, from a nobleman. Who this nobleman was, however, he does not state, nor does he take it upon him to say, even that it was written by the king's order, or that he was in any way privy to it. However this may be, it is stated further, on the authority just alluded to, that the letter in question was put into Mr Guthrie's hands in the hall of his own house, after he had got his gown on, and was about to proceed to church, the last bell having just ceased ringing; having little time to decide on the contents of the letter, he gave no positive answer to the messenger, nor came under any promise to postpone the sentence of excommunication: with this exception the circumstance took place as already related.

Soon after the Restoration, Mr Guthrie and some others of his brethren, who had assembled at Edinburgh, for the purpose of drawing up what they called a *supplication* to his majesty, and who had already rendered themselves exceedingly obnoxious to the government, were apprehended and lodged in the castle

of Edinburgh; from thence Mr Guthrie was removed to Dundee, and afterwards back again to Edinburgh, where he was finally brought to trial for high treason, on the 20th of February, 1661; and, notwithstanding an able and ingenious defence, was condemned to death, a result in no small degree owing to the dislike which Middleton bore him for his officiousness in the matter of his excommunication, and which that nobleman had not forgotten.

It is said that Guthrie had been long impressed with the belief that he should die by the hands of the executioner, and many singular circumstances which he himself noted from time to time, and pointed out to his friends, strengthened him in this melancholy belief. Amongst these it is related, that when he came to Edinburgh to sign the solemn league and covenant, the first person he met as he entered at the West Port was the public executioner. On this occasion, struck with the singularity of the circumstance, and looking upon it as another intimation of the fate which awaited him, he openly expressed his conviction, that he would one day suffer for the things contained in that document which he had come to subscribe.

Whilst under sentence of death, Guthrie conducted himself with all the heroism of a martyr. Sincere and enthusiastic in the cause which he had espoused, he did not shrink from the last penalty to which his adherence to it could subject him, but, on the contrary, met it with cheerfulness and magnanimity. On the night before his execution he supped with some friends, and conducted himself throughout the repast as if he had been in his own house. He ate heartily, and after supper asked for cheese, a luxury which he had been long forbidden by his physicians; saying jocularly, that he need not now fear gravel, the complaint for which he had been restricted from it. Soon after supper he retired to bed, and slept soundly till four o'clock in the morning, when he raised himself up and prayed fervently. On the night before, he wrote some letters to his friends, and sealed them with his coat of arms, but while the wax was yet soft, he turned the seal round and round so as to mar the impression, and when asked why he did so, replied, that he had now nothing to do with these vanities. A little before coming out of the tolbooth to proceed to execution, his wife embracing him said, "Now, my heart," her usual way of addressing him, "your time is drawing nigh, and I must take my last farewell of you."—"Ay, you must," he answered, "for henceforth I know no man after the flesh." Before being brought out to suffer, a request was made to the authorities by his friends, to allow him to wear his hat on the way to the scaffold, and also that they would not pinion him until he reached the place of execution. Both requests were at first denied; the former absolutely, because, as was alleged, the marquis of Argyle, who had been executed a short while before, had worn his hat, in going to the scaffold, in a manner markedly indicative of defiance and contempt, and which had given much offence. To the latter request, that he might not be pinioned, they gave way so far, on a representation being made that he could not walk without his staff, on account of the rose being in one of his legs, as to allow him so much freedom in his arms as to enable him to make use of that support, but they would not altogether dispense with that fatal preparation. Having ascended the scaffold, he delivered with a calm and serene countenance an impressive address to those around him; justified all for which he was about to suffer, and recommended all who heard him to adhere firmly to the covenant. After hanging for some time, his head was struck off, and placed on the Netherbow Port, where it remained for seven and twenty years, when it was taken down and buried by a Mr Alexander Hamilton at the hazard of his own life. The body, after being beheaded, was carried to the Old Kirk, where it was dressed by a number of ladies who waited its arrival for that purpose; many of whom, be-

sides, dipped their napkins in his blood, that they might preserve them as memorials of so admired a martyr. While these gentlewomen were in the act of discharging this pious duty, a young gentleman suddenly appeared amongst them, and without any explanation, proceeded to pour out a bottle of rich perfume on the dead body. "God bless you, sir, for this labour of love," said one of the ladies, and then without uttering a word, this singular visitor departed. He was, however, afterwards discovered to be a surgeon in Edinburgh named George Stirling. Guthrie was executed on the 1st June, 1661.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, the author of the well known work entitled, "The Christian's Great Interest," was born at Pitforthly in Forfarshire, in the year 1620. His father was proprietor of that estate and was a cadet of the family of that ilk. He had five sons, of whom it is remarkable that four devoted themselves to the ministry. Of these William was the eldest.

The rank and estate of Mr Guthrie enabled him to educate his sons liberally for the profession which so many of them had from their early years chosen. William, with whom alone we are at present concerned, made while very young such advances in classical literature, as to give high hopes of future eminence. His academical education was conducted at St Andrew's University under the immediate direction of his relation, Mr James Guthrie, afterwards an heroic martyr in the cause of civil and religious liberty. The records of the university for this period are unfortunately lost, so that the time of his matriculation, or any other information respecting his advancement or proficiency cannot be obtained from that source. We know, however, that after completing the philosophical curriculum he took the degree of master of arts, and then devoted his attention to the study of divinity under Mr Samuel Rutherford. At length he applied to the Presbytery of St Andrew's for licence, and having gone through the usual "tryalls" he obtained it in August, 1642. Soon afterwards he left St Andrew's, carrying with him a letter of recommendation from the professors, in which they expressed a high opinion of his character and talents.

Mr Guthrie was now engaged by the earl of Loudon as tutor to his son lord Mauchlin. In that situation he remained till his ordination as first minister of Fenwick—a parish which had till that time formed part of that of Kilmarnock. Lord Boyd, the superior of the latter, a staunch royalist and a supporter of the association formed at Cumbernauld in favour of the king in 1641,—had also the patronage of Fenwick. This nobleman was most decidedly averse to Mr Guthrie's appointment—from what reasons does not appear, although we may be allowed to conjecture that it arose either from Mr Guthrie's decided principles, or from the steady attachment of the Loudon family to the presbyterian interest. Some of the parishioners, however, had heard him preach a preparation sermon in the church of Galston, became his warmest advocates, and were supported in their solicitations by the influence of the heritors. Mr Guthrie was after some delay ordained minister of the parish on the 7th of November, 1644.

The difficulties which Mr Guthrie had to encounter when he entered upon his charge were neither few nor unimportant. From the former large extent of the parish of Kilmarnock, the nature of the country, and the badness, in many cases the total want, of roads, a large mass of the people must have entirely wanted the benefits of religious instruction. He left no plan untried to improve their condition in that respect. By every means in his power he allured the ignorant or the vicious: to some he even gave bribes to attend the church; others in more remote districts he visited as if incidentally traveling through their country, or even sometimes in the disguise of a sportsman; in such cases says the author of the Scots Worthies, "he gained some to a religious life whom he could have had little influence upon in a minister's dress.

In August, 1645, Mr Guthrie married Agnes, daughter of David Campbell of Skeldon in Ayrshire, but he was soon called to leave his happy home by his appointment as a chaplain to the army. He continued with them till the battle of Dunbar was fought and lost: after it he retired with the troops to Stirling; from thence he went to Edinburgh, where we find him dating his letters about six weeks afterwards. The last remove was viewed by the clergy with considerable jealousy; and their suspicions of an "intended compliance," intimated to him in a letter from Mr Samuel Rutherford, must have been a source of much distress and embarrassment to him. That such was not his intention his subsequent conduct showed, nor was it any part of Cromwell's policy to convert the Scottish clergy by torture or imprisonment. Upon entering the metropolis he intimated that he did not wish to interfere with the religion of the country, and that those ministers who had taken refuge in the castle might resume their functions in their respective parishes.

But while Cromwell determined to leave the clergy and people of Scotland to their own free will in matters of religion, it is lamentable to observe that they split into factions, which were the cause of some violent and unchristian exhibitions. When they divided into the grand parties of resolutioners and remonstrators, or protestors, Mr Guthrie joined the latter: but he displayed little of that animosity which so unfortunately distinguished many of his brethren. He preached with those whose political opinions differed from his own, and earnestly engaged in every measure which might restore the peace of the church. But while we cannot but lament their existence, these dissensions do not seem to have been unfavourable to the growth of religion in the country. On the contrary, both Law and Kirkton inform us that "there was great good done by the preaching of the gospel" during that period, "more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years." We have some notices of public disputes which took place during the Protectorate,—particularly of one at Cupar in 1652, between a regimental chaplain and a presbyterian clergyman.¹ It is highly probable that this freedom of debate, and the consequent liberty of professing any religious sentiments may have been one great cause of so remarkable a revival.

From this period to the Restoration, few interesting events present themselves to the reader of Scottish history. We do not find any notice of Mr Guthrie till the year 1661, when all the fabric which the presbyterians had raised during the reign of Charles I. was destroyed at one blow. Of the exaggerated benefits anticipated from the reformation of his son every one who has read our national history is aware. Charles II. was permitted to return to the throne with no farther guarantee for the civil and religious liberties of his people than fine speeches or fair promises. It was not long before our Scottish ancestors discovered their mistake; but the fatal power, which recalls to the mind the ancient fable of the countryman and the serpent, was now fully armed, and was as uncompromising as inhuman in its exercise. In the dark and awful struggle which followed, Mr Guthrie was not an idle spectator. He attended the meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which was held at the former place in April, 1661, and framed an address to the parliament at once spirited and moderate. Unfortunately, when this address was brought forward for the approbation of the Synod, the members were so much divided that one party declared their determination to dissent in the event of its being presented. In such circumstances it could only prove a disgraceful memorial of their distractions, and many, otherwise approving of its spirit and temper, voted against any further procedure. The "Glasgow Act," by which all ministers who had been ordained

¹ Lamont's Diary, ed. 1830, p. 48.

after 1649, and did not receive collation from their bishop, were banished, soon followed; but it did not affect Mr Guthrie.

Through the good offices of the earl of Glencairn, (to whom Mr Guthrie had some opportunity of doing a favour during his imprisonment before the Restoration,) he had hitherto escaped many of the evils which had visited so large a majority of his brethren. Dr Alexander Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, now began to act with great severity towards the nonconforming clergy of his diocese. To the intreaty of lord Glencairn and of other noblemen, that he would in the meantime overlook Mr Guthrie, the haughty prelate only replied "That cannot be done,—it shall not: he is a ringleader and a keeper up of schism in my diocese." With much difficulty he prevailed upon the curate of Calder, for the paltry bribe of five pounds, to intimate his suspension. The parishioners of Fenwick had determined to oppose such an intimation even at the risk of rebellion, but were prevailed upon to desist from an attempt which would have drawn undoubted ruin upon themselves. The paltry curate, therefore, proceeded upon his errand with a party of twelve soldiers, and intimated to Mr Guthrie, and afterwards in the parish church, his commission from archbishop Burnet to suspend him. Wodrow mentions that when he wrote his history it was still confidently asserted "that Mr Guthrie, at parting did signify to the curate that he apprehended some evident mark of the Lord's displeasure was abiding him for what he was now doing,"—but that this report rested on very doubtful authority. "Whatever be in this," he continues, "I am well assured the curate never preached more after he left Fenwick. He came to Glasgow, and whether he reached Calder—but four miles beyond it—I know not: but in four days he died in great torment of an iliac passion, and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby. So hazardous a thing is it to meddle with Christ's sent servants."

Mr Guthrie remained in the parish of Fenwick for a year after this time without preaching. In the autumn of 1665, he went to Pitforthly, where his brother's affairs required his presence. He had only been there a few days when a complaint which had preyed upon his constitution for many years, a threatening of stone, returned with great violence, accompanied by internal ulceration. After some days of extreme pain, in the intervals of which he often cheered his friends by his prospects of happiness in a sinless state, he died in the house of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Lewis Skinner, at Brechin on the 10th of October, 1665.

Mr Guthrie would in all probability never have appeared before the world as an author, had it not been requisite in his own defence. In 1656 or 1657, a volume was published, containing imperfect notes of sermons preached by him on the 55th chapter of Isaiah. Although it had a considerable circulation, he was not less displeased with its contents than the pomposity of its title. It was true, indeed, that it was not brought forward as his production, yet Mr Guthrie "was reputed the author through the whole country," and therefore bound to disclaim it in his own vindication. He accordingly revised the notes which he had preserved of these sermons; and from thence wrote his only genuine work "The Christian's Great Interest," now better known by the title of the First Part, "The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ." Any praise that could here be bestowed upon the work would be superfluous. It has gained for itself the best proof of its merits,—a circulation almost unparalleled among that class of readers for which it was perhaps chiefly intended, the intelligent Scottish peasantry.

John Howie mentions, in his Scots Worthies, that "there were also some discourses of Mr Guthrie's in manuscript," out of which he transcribed seventeen

sermons, published in the year 1779. At the same period there were also a great number of MS. sermons and notes bearing his name. Some of these had apparently been taken from his widow by a party of soldiers who entered her house by violence, and took her son-in-law prisoner in 1682.

It may be necessary here to allude to another work connected with Mr Guthrie's name,—“The heads of some sermons preached at Fenwick in August, 1662, by Mr William Guthrie, upon Matt. xiv. 24, &c. anent the trials of the Lord's people, their support in, and deliverance from them by Jesus Christ,” published in 1680, and reprinted in 1714. This work was wholly unauthorized by his representatives, being taken, not from his own MSS. but from imperfect notes or recollections of some of his hearers. His widow published an advertisement disclaiming it, a copy of which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, among the collections of the indefatigable Wodrow.

Memoirs of Mr Guthrie will be found in the Scots Worthies, and at the beginning of the work “The Christian's Great Interest.” A later and more complete sketch of his life, interspersed with his letters to Sir William Muir, younger, has been written by the Rev. William Muir, the editor of the interesting genealogical little work, “The History of the House of Rowallan.” From the latter, most of the materials for the present notice have been drawn.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, a political, historical, and miscellaneous writer, was born in Forfarshire, in the year 1708. His father was an episcopal minister at Brechin, and a cadet of a family which has for a long time possessed considerable influence in that part of the country. He studied at King's college in Aberdeen, and having taken his degrees, had resolved to retire early from the activity and ambition of the world, to the humble pursuits of a Scottish parochial schoolmaster; from this retreat, however, he seems to have been early driven, by the consequences of some unpropitious affair of the heart, hinted at but not named by his biographers, which seems to have created, from its circumstances, so great a ferment among the respectable connexions of the schoolmaster, that he resolved to try his fortune in the mighty labyrinth of London. Other accounts mingle with this the circumstance of his having been an adherent of the house of Stuart, which is likely enough from his parentage, and of his consequently being disabled from holding any office under the Hanoverian government—a method of making his livelihood which his character informs us he would not have found disagreeable could he have followed it up; at all events, we find him in London, after the year 1730, working hard as a general literary man for his livelihood, and laying himself out as a doer of all work in the profession of letters. Previously to Dr Johnson's connexion with the Gentleman's Magazine, which commenced about the year 1738, Guthrie had been in the habit of collecting and arranging the parliamentary debates for that periodical, or rather of putting such words into the mouths of certain statesmen, as he thought they might or should have made use of; clothing the names of the senators in allegorical terms; a system to which a dread of the power of parliament, and the uncertainty of the privilege of being present at debates, prompted the press at that time to have recourse. When Johnson had been regularly employed as a writer in the magazine, the reports, after receiving such embellishments as Guthrie could bestow on them, were sent to him by Cave, to receive the final touch of oratorical colouring; and sometimes afterwards the labour was performed by Johnson alone, considerably, it may be presumed, to the fame and appreciation of the honourable orators. Guthrie soon after this period had managed to let it be known to government, that he was a person who could write well, and that it might depend on circumstances whether he should use his pen as the medium of attack or of defence. The matter was placed on its proper footing, and

Mr Guthrie received from the Pelham administration a pension of £200 a-year. He was a man who knew better how to maintain his ground than the ministry did, and he managed with his pension to survive its fall. Nearly twenty years afterwards, we find him making laudable efforts for the continuance of his allowance by the then administration:—the following letter addressed to a minister, one of the coolest specimens of literary commerce on record, we cannot avoid quoting.

June 3d, 1762.

“MY LORD,—In the year 1745-6, Mr Pelham, then first lord of the treasury, acquainted me, that it was his majesty's pleasure I should receive till better provided for, which never has happened, £200 a-year, to be paid by him and his successors in the treasury. I was satisfied with the august name made use of, and the appointment has been regularly and quarterly paid me ever since. I have been equally punctual in doing the government all the services that fell within my abilities or sphere of life, especially in those critical situations which call for unanimity in the service of the crown. Your lordship will possibly now suspect that I am an author by profession—you are not deceived; and you will be less so, if you believe that I am disposed to serve his majesty under your lordship's future patronage and protection, with greater zeal, if possible, than ever.

I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.,

WILLIAM GUTHRIE.”

This application, as appears from its date, had been addressed to a member of the Bute administration, and within a year after it was written, the author must have had to undergo the task of renewing his appeal, and changing his political principles. The path he had chosen out was one of danger and difficulty; but we have the satisfaction of knowing, that the reward of his submission to the powers that were, and of his contempt for common political prejudices, was duly continued to the day of his death.

The achievements of Guthrie in the literary world, it is not easy distinctly or satisfactorily to trace. The works which bear his name, would rank him as, perhaps, the most miscellaneous and extensive author in the world, but he is generally believed to have been as regardless of the preservation of his literary fame, as of his political constancy, and to have shielded the productions of authors less known to the world, under the sanction of his name. About the year 1763, he published “a complete History of the English Peerage, from the best authorities, illustrated with elegant copperplates of the arms of the nobility, &c.” The noble personages, whose ancestors appeared in this work as the embodied models of all human perfection, were invited to correct and revise the portions in which they felt interested before they were committed to the press; nevertheless the work is full of mistakes, and has all the appearance of having been touched by a hasty though somewhat vigorous hand. Thus, the battle of Dettingen, as connected with the history of the duke of Cumberland, is mentioned as having taken place in June, 1744, while, in the account of the duke of Marlborough, the period retrogrades to 1742—both being exactly the same distance of time from the true era of the battle, which was 1743. Very nearly in the same neighbourhood, George the II. achieves the feat of leaving Hanover on the 16th of June, and reaching Aschaffenberg on the 10th of the same month; in a similar manner the house of peers is found addressing his majesty on the subject of the battle of Culloden on the 29th of August, 1746, just after the prorogation of parliament. To this work Mr Guthrie procured the assistance of Mr Ralph Bigland. Guthrie afterwards wrote a History of England in three large folios; it commences with the Conquest, and terminates, rather earlier than it would appear the author had at first intended, at the end of the Republic. This work has the merit of being

the earliest British history which placed reliance on the fund of authentic information, to be found in the records of parliament. But the genius of Guthrie was not to be chained to the history of the events of one island; at divers times about the years 1764-5, appeared portions of "A General History of the World, from the creation to the present time, by William Guthrie, esq., John Gray, esq., and others, eminent in this branch of literature," in twelve volumes. "No authors," says the Critical Review, "ever pursued an original plan with fewer deviations than the writers of this work. They connect history in such a manner, that Europe seems one republic, though under different heads and constitutions." Guthrie was then a principal writer in that leading periodical, in which his works received much praise, because, to save trouble, and as being best acquainted with the subject, the author of the books took on himself the duties of critic, and was consequently well satisfied with the performance. In 1767, Mr Guthrie published in parts a History of Scotland, in ten volumes, octavo. It commences with "the earliest period," and introduces us to an ample acquaintance with Dornadilla, Durst, Corbred, and the numerous other long-lived monarchs, whose names Father Innes had, some time previously, consigned to the regions of fable. Of several of these persons he presents us with very respectable portraits, which prove their taste in dress, and knowledge of theatrical effect, to have been by no means contemptible. In this work the author adheres with pertinacity to many opinions which prior authors of celebrity considered they had exploded; like Goodall, he seems anxious to take vengeance on those who showed the ancient Scots to have come from Ireland, by proving the Irish to have come from Scotland, and a similar spirit seems to have actuated him in maintaining the *regiam magestatem* of Scotland, to have been the original of the *regiam potestatem* of Glanvil—Nicholson and others having discovered that the Scottish code was borrowed from the English. With all its imperfections, this book constituted the best complete history of Scotland published during the last century, and it is not without regret that we are compelled to admit its superiority to any equally lengthy, detailed, and comprehensive history of Scotland which has yet appeared. The views of policy are frequently profound and accurate, and the knowledge of the contemporaneous history of other nations frequently exhibited, shows that attention and consideration might have enabled the author to have produced a standard historical work; towards its general merits Pinkerton has addressed the following growl of qualified praise:—"Guthrie's History of Scotland, is the best of the modern, but it is a mere money-job, hasty and inaccurate." It would be a useless and tedious task to particularize the numerous works of this justly styled "miscellaneous writer." One of the works, however, which bear his name, has received the unqualified approbation of the world. "Guthrie's Historical and Geographical Grammar" is known to every one, from the school-boy to the philosopher, as a useful and well digested manual of information. This work had reached its twenty-first edition before the year 1810; it was translated into French in 1801, by Messieurs Noel and Soules, and the translation was re-edited for the fourth time in a very splendid manner in 1807. The astronomical information was supplied by James Gregory, and rumour bestows on Knox, the bookseller, the reputation of having written the remaining part under the guarantee of a name of literary authority. Besides the works already enumerated, Guthrie translated Quintilian, Cicero De Officiis, and Cicero's Epistles to Atticus—he likewise wrote, "The Friends, a sentimental history," in two volumes, and "Remarks on English Tragedy." This singular individual terminated his laborious life in March, 1770. The following tribute to his varied qualifications is to be found on his tombstone in Mary-le-bone,— "Near this place lies interred the body of William Guthrie, esq., who died,

9th March, 1770, aged sixty-two, representative of the ancient family of Guthrie of Halkerton, in the county of Angus, North Britain: eminent for knowledge in all branches of literature, and of the British constitution, which his many works, historical, geographical, classical, critical, and political, do testify; to whom this monument was erected, by order of his brother, Henry Guthrie, esq., in the year 1777."

Guthrie was one of those individuals who live by making themselves useful to others, and his talents and habits dictated the most profitable occupation for his time to be composition: he seems to have exulted in the self-imposed term of "an author by profession;" and we find him three years before his death complacently styling himself, in a letter to the earl of Buchan, "the oldest author by profession in Britain:" like many who have maintained a purer fame, and filled a higher station, his political principles were guided by emolument, which, in his instance, seems to have assumed the aspect of pecuniary necessity. Had not his engagements with the booksellers prompted him to aim at uniting the various qualities of a Hume, a Robertson, a Johnson, a Camden, and a Cowley, attention to one particular branch of his studies might have made his name illustrious. Johnson considered him a person of sufficient eminence to regret that his life had not been written, and uttered to Boswell the following sententious opinion of his merits:—"Sir, he is a man of parts. He has no regular fund of knowledge, but by reading so long, and writing so long, he no doubt has picked up a good deal." Boswell elsewhere states in a note—"How much poetry he wrote, I know not, but he informed me, that he was the author of the beautiful little piece, 'the Eagle and Robin Red-breast,' in the collection of poems entitled 'The Union,' though it is there said to be written by Archibald Scott, before the year 1600."

H

HACKSTON, DAVM, of Rathillet, is a name of considerable celebrity in the annals of Scotland, from its connexion with the events of 1679-80, and from its pre-eminence in some of the most remarkable transactions of that stormy period. Hackston, though indebted for his celebrity to the zeal and courage which he displayed in the cause of the covenanters, is said to have led an exceedingly irreligious life during his earlier years, from which he was reclaimed by attending some of the field preachings of the period, when he became a sincere and devoted convert. The first remarkable transaction in which he was engaged in connexion with the party with which he had now associated himself, was the murder of archbishop Sharpe. Hackston of Rathillet formed a conspicuous figure in the group of that prelate's assassins, although in reality he had no immediate hand in the murder. He seems, however, even previous to this to have gained a considerable ascendancy over his more immediate companions, and to have been already looked up to by his party, as a man whose daring courage and enthusiasm promised to be of essential service to their cause. When the archbishop's carriage came in sight of the conspirators, of whom there were eight besides Hackston, they unanimously chose him their leader, pledging themselves to obey him in every thing in the conduct of the proposed attack on the prelate. This distinction, however, Hackston declined, on the ground that he had a private quarrel with the archbishop, and that, therefore, if he should take an active part in his destruction, the world would allege that he had done it to

gratify a personal hatred—a feeling, of which he declared he entertained none whatever towards their intended victim. He further urged scruples of conscience regarding the proposed deed, of the lawfulness of which he said he by no means felt assured, the archbishop, as is well known, having only come accidentally in the way of Hackston and his associates. Hackston having refused the command of the party, another was chosen, and under his directions the murder was perpetrated. Whilst the shocking scene was going forward, Hackston kept altogether aloof, and countenanced it no further than by looking on. He seems, however, to have had little other objection to the commission of the crime, than that he himself should not have an immediate hand in its accomplishment; for when the unfortunate old man, after being compelled to come out of his carriage by the assassins, appealed to him for protection,—saying, “Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me,” he contented himself with replying that *he* would never lay a hand on him. Rathillet was on horseback, from which he did not alight during the whole time of the murder. Next day, the conspirators divided themselves into two parties—three remaining in Fife, and five, with Rathillet, proceeding north in the direction of Dunblane and Perth. Soon after they repaired to the west, and finally joined a body of covenanters at Evandale. Here the latter having drawn up a declaration, or, as they called it, their testimony to the truth; Rathillet with another, Mr Douglas, one of the most intrepid of the covenanting clergymen, was appointed to publish it. For this purpose he proceeded with his colleague to the town of Rutherglen, where, on 29th May, after burning, at the market cross, all those acts of parliament and council which they and their party deemed prejudicial to their interest, they proclaimed the testimony. Hackston's next remarkable appearance was at the battle of Drumclog, where he distinguished himself by his bravery. On the alarm being given that Claverhouse was in sight and approaching, the position of the covenanters, who, though they had met there for divine worship, were all well armed. Hackston and Hall of Haughhead placed themselves at the head of the footmen, and led them gallantly on against the dragoons of Claverhouse. The result of that encounter is well known. The bravery of the covenanters prevailed. The affair of Drumclog was soon after followed by that of Bothwell Brig, where Rathillet again made himself conspicuous by his intrepidity, being, with his troop of horse, the last of the whole army of the covenanters on the field of battle. He had flown from rank to rank, when he saw the confusion which was arising amongst the covenanters, and alternately threatened and besought the men to keep their ground. Finding all his efforts vain, “My friends,” he said, addressing his troop, “we can do no more, we are the last upon the field;” and he now, retreating himself, endeavoured as much as possible to cover the rear of the flying covenanters. Rathillet sought safety in concealment, for, besides what he had to fear from his having carried arms against the government, he had also to apprehend the consequences of a proclamation which had been issued, offering a reward of 10,000 merks for his apprehension, or any of those concerned in the death of the archbishop of St Andrews. For twelve months he contrived to escape, but was at length taken prisoner at Airmoss, by Bruce of Earlshall. Rathillet, with about sixty other persons, had come to the place just named, to attend a preaching by Richard Cameron, the celebrated founder of the sect called Cameronians, when they were surprised by Bruce with a large body of horse, and after a desperate resistance, during which Hackston was severely wounded, he and several others were taken. Cameron himself was killed in this affair, with nine of his adherents. Hackston gives a very interesting account of this skirmish, and, without the slightest aim at effect, has presented us with as remarkable and striking an in-

stance of the spirit of the times, of the almost romantic bravery and resolution which religious fervour had inspired into the covenanters, as is upon record. It appears from the account alluded to, that the party to which Hackston was attached, had been informed that the military were in search of them, and that, to avoid the latter, they had spent some days and nights, previous to their encountering them, in the moors. On the day on which the skirmish took place, while wandering through the morasses, they came upon a spot of grass, which tempted them to halt. Here they laid themselves down and took some refreshment, but while thus employed, they were startled with the intelligence that their enemies were approaching them, Hackston conjectures, to the number of at least 112 men, well armed and mounted; while the force of the covenanters did not amount to more than sixty-three, of which forty were on foot, and twenty-three on horseback, and the greater part of them but poorly appointed. Unappalled by those odds, Hackston immediately formed his little host in battle array, and, while doing so, asked them if they were all willing to fight. The reply was readily given in the affirmative, and preparations were instantly made for a desperate conflict. In the meantime the dragoons were fast advancing towards them. Hackston, however, did not wait for the attack, but put his little band also in motion, and bravely marched on to meet their enemy. "Our horse," says Hackston, "advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other. I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, rode in amongst them, and went out at a side without any wrong or wound. I was pursued by severals, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they following me and sometimes I following them. At length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance, we both being on foot, fought it with small swords without advantage of one another; but at length closing, I was stricken down with those on horseback behind me, and received three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life, which I submitted to. They searched me and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much,—where were brought severals of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of being brave resolute men." Hackston with several others were now, his little party having been defeated, carried prisoners to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark. Here he was brought before Dalrymple, who, not being satisfied with his answers, threatened in the brutal manner peculiar to him to *roast* him for his contumacy. Without any regard to the miserable condition in which Hackston was—dreadfully wounded and worn out with fatigue—Dalrymple now ordered him to be put in irons, and to be fastened down to the floor of his prison, and would not allow of any medical aid to alleviate his sufferings. On Saturday, two days after the affair of Airmoss, Rathillet, with other three prisoners, were brought to Edinburgh. On arriving at the city, they were carried round about by the north side of the town, and made to enter at the foot of the Canongate, where they were received by the magistrates. Here the unparalleled cruelties to which Hackston was subjected commenced. Before entering the town he was placed upon a horse with "his face backward, and the other three were bound on a goad of iron, and Mr Cameron's head carried on a halbert before him, and another head in a sack on a lad's back." And thus disposed, the procession moved up the street towards the Parliament Close, where the prisoners were loosed by the hands of the hangman. Rathillet was immediately carried before the council, and examined regarding the murder of archbishop Sharpe, and on several points relative to his religious and political doctrines. Here he conducted himself with the same fortitude which had distinguished him on other perilous occasions, maintaining and defending his opinions, however unpalatable they might be to his judges. After undergoing a

second examination by the council, he was handed over to the court of justiciary, with instructions from the former to the latter, to proceed against him with the utmost severity. On the 29th of July he was brought to trial as an accessory to the murder of the primate, for publishing two seditious papers, and for having carried arms against his sovereign. Rathillet declined the jurisdiction of the court, and refused to plead. This, however, of course, availed him nothing. On the day following he was again brought to the bar, and in obedience to the injunctions of the council, sentenced to suffer a death unsurpassed in cruelty by any upon record, and which had been dictated by the council previous to his trial by the justiciary court, in the certain anticipation of his condemnation. After receiving sentence, the unfortunate man was carried directly from the bar and placed upon a hurdle, on which he was drawn to the place of execution at the cross of Edinburgh. On his ascending the scaffold, where none were permitted to be with him but two magistrates and the executioner, and his attendants, the cruelties to which he had been condemned were begun. His right hand was struck off; but the hangman performing the operation in a tardy and bungling manner, Rathillet, when he came to take off the left hand also, desired him to strike on the joint. This done, he was drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and allowed to fall again with a sudden and violent jerk. Having been three times subjected to this barbarous proceeding, he was hoisted again to the top of the gibbet, when the executioner with a large knife laid open his breast, before he was yet dead, and pulled out his heart. This he now stuck on the point of a knife, and showed it on all sides to the spectators, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor." It was then thrown into a fire prepared for the purpose. His body was afterwards quartered. One quarter, together with his hands, were sent to St Andrews, another to Glasgow, a third to Leith, and a fourth to Burntisland; his head being fixed upon the Netherbow. Thus perished Hackston of Rathillet, a man in whose life, and in the manner of whose death, we find at once a remarkable but faithful specimen of the courage and fortitude of the persecuted of the seventeenth century, and of the inhuman and relentless spirit of their persecutors.

HALKET, (LADY) ANNE, whose extensive learning and voluminous theological writings, place her in the first rank of female authors, was the daughter of Mr Robert Murray, of the family of Tullibardine, and was born at London, January 4th, 1622. She may be said to have been trained up in habits of scholastic study from her very infancy, her father being preceptor to Charles I., (and afterwards provost of Eton college,) and her mother, who was allied to the noble family of Perth, acting as sub-governess to the duke of Gloucester and the princess Elizabeth. Lady Anne was instructed by her parents in every polite and liberal science; but theology and physic were her favourite subjects; and she became so proficient in the latter, and in the more unfeminine science of surgery, that the most eminent professional men, as well as invalids of the first rank, both in Britain and on the continent, sought her advice. Being, as might have been expected, a staunch royalist, her family and herself suffered with the misfortunes of Charles. She was married on March 2d, 1656, to Sir James Halket, to whom she bore four children, all of whom died young, with the exception of her eldest son Robert. During her pregnancy with the latter, she wrote an admirable tract, "The Mother's Will to the Unborn Child," under the impression of her not surviving her delivery. Her husband died in the year 1670; but she survived till April 22d, 1699, and left no less than twenty-one volumes behind her, chiefly on religious subjects, one of which, her "Meditations," was printed at Edinburgh in 1701. She is said to have been a woman of singular but unaffected piety, and of the sweetest simplicity of manners; and these quali-

ties, together with her great talents and learning, drew upon her the universal esteem and respect of her cotemporaries of all ranks.

HALL, (SIR) JAMES, Bart., was born at Dunglass in east Lothian, on the 17th January, 1761. He was the eldest son of Sir John Hall, who had married his cousin, Magdalen, daughter to Sir Robert Pringle of Stitchell in Berwickshire. The subject of our memoir received a private education until his twelfth year, when he was sent by his father to a public school in the neighbourhood of London, where he had the good fortune to be under the care and superintendence of his uncle, Sir John Pringle, the king's physician. He succeeded to the baronetcy by the death of his father, in July 1776, and much about the same period entered himself in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he remained for some years. He then proceeded with his tutor, the reverend Mr Brand, on a tour on the continent, whence he returned to Edinburgh, when twenty years old, and lived there with his tutor until he became of age, attending, at the same time, some of the classes of the Edinburgh university. In 1782, Sir James Hall made a second tour on the continent of Europe, where he remained for more than three years, gradually acquiring that accurate information in geology, chemistry, and Gothic architecture, which he afterwards made so useful to the world. During this period he visited the courts of Europe, and made himself acquainted with their scientific men. In his rambles he had occasion to meet with the adventurer Ledyard; the interview between them, its cause, and consequence, are, with a sense of gratitude and justice not often witnessed on similar occasions, detailed in the journals and correspondence of that singular man; and the scene is so honourable to the feelings of Sir James Hall, that we cannot avoid quoting it in Ledyard's own words:

"Permit me to relate to you an incident. About a fortnight ago, Sir James Hall, an English gentleman, on his way from Paris to Cherbourg, stopped his coach at our door, and came up to my chamber. I was in bed, at six o'clock in the morning, but having flung on my *robe de chambre*, I met him at the door of the anti-chamber—I was glad to see him, but surprised. He observed, that he had endeavoured to make up his opinion of me with as much exactness as possible, and concluded that no kind of visit whatever would surprise me. I could do no otherwise than remark that his *opinion* surprised me at least, and the conversation took another turn. In walking across the chamber, he laughingly put his hand on a six livre piece, and a louis d'or that lay on my table, and with a half stifled blush, asked me how I was in the money way. Blushes commonly beget blushes, and I blushed partly because he did, and partly on other accounts. 'If fifteen guineas,' said he, interrupting the answer he had demanded, 'will be of any service to you, there they are,' and he put them on the table. 'I am a traveller myself, and though I have some fortune to support my travels, yet I have been so situated as to want money, which you ought not to do—you have my address in London.' He then wished me a good morning and left me. This gentleman was a total stranger to the situation of my finances, and one that I had, by mere accident, met at an ordinary in Paris."¹

The sum was extremely acceptable to Ledyard, for the consumption of the six livre piece, and the louis d'or would have left him utterly destitute; but he had no more expectation or right to assistance from Sir James Hall, than (to use his own simile) from the khan of Tartary. On his return to Scotland, Sir James Hall married, in 1786, the lady Helen Douglas, second daughter of Dunbar, earl of Selkirk. Living a life of retirement, Sir James commenced his connexion with the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he was for some time president,

¹ Life and Travels of John Ledyard, from his Journals and Correspondence, 1828, pp 223, 224.

and enriched its transactions by accounts of experiments on a bold and extensive scale. The results were in many instances so important, that they deserve to be cursorily mentioned in this memoir, which, treating of a scientific man, would be totally void of interest without some reference to them. He was a supporter of the theory of Dr Hutton, who maintained the earth to be the production of heat, and all its geological formations the natural consequences of fusion; and his experiments may be said to be special evidence collected for the support of this cause. Among the minute investigations made by the supporters of both sides of the controversy, it had been discovered by the Neptunians, that in some granites, where quartz and feldspar were united, the respective crystals were found mutually to impress each other—therefore, that they must have been in a state of solution together, and must have congealed simultaneously; but as feldspar fuses with less heat than is required for quartz, the latter, if both were melted by fire, must have returned to its solidity previously to the former, and so the feldspar would have yielded entirely to the impression of the crystals of the quartz. Sir James Hall discovered, that when the two substances were pulverized, and mixed in the proportions in which they usually occur in granite, a heat very little superior to that required to melt the feldspar alone, fused both, the feldspar acting in some respects as a solvent, or flux to the quartz. Making allowance for the defects of art, the result of the experiment, while it could not be used as a positive proof to the theory of the Huttonians, served to defend them from what might have proved a conclusive argument of their opponents. But the other experiments were founded on wider views, and served to illustrate truths more important. The characteristic of the theory of Dr Hutton, distinguishing it from those of others who maintained the formation of the earth by means of fire, was, that perceiving the practical effect of heat on most of the bodies which formed the crust of the earth, to be calcination, or change of state, and not fusion, or change of form, and knowing from the experiments of Dr Black, that, in the case of limestones, the change depended on the separation of the carbonic acid gas from the earth, the theorist concluded, that by a heat beyond what human agency could procure, calcareous earths might be fused, provided the gas were prevented from escaping, by means of strong pressure. Sir James Hall, conceiving it possible that a sufficient heat might be procured, to exemplify the theory on some calcareous bodies, commenced a series of experiments in 1798, which he prosecuted through success and disappointment for seven years. The result of these experiments produced an elaborate paper, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and published in the *Transactions* of that body in 1806; they were in number one hundred and fifty-six, some successful, others productive of the disappointment to which accident frequently exposes the zealous chemist,—conducted with considerable danger, great expense, and unvarying patience and labour, and on the whole singularly satisfactory in their results. The plan followed by Sir James was, to procure a tube which might afford a strong resistance to inward pressure, for which purpose he alternately tried iron, and porcelain; one end being closed up, pulverized chalk or other limestone was inserted, and the space betwixt its surface and the mouth of the tube being closely packed with some impervious substance, such as clay baked and pounded, fused metal, &c., the open extremity was hermetically sealed, and the end which contained the substance to be experimented upon, subjected to the action of a furnace. The iron or the porcelain were frequently found insufficient to sustain the pressure; the substance rammed into the tube to prevent the longitudinal escape of the gas had not always the effect, nor could Sir James, even in the most refined of his experiments, prevent a partial though sometimes scarcely perceptible escape of gas; yet the general results showed the truth of

the theory on which he had proceeded to act, with singular applicability;—the first successful experiment procured him from a piece of common chalk, broken to powder, a hard stony mass, which dissolved in muriatic acid with violent effervescence—sometimes the fruit of his labour was covered with crystals visible to the naked eye—proving fusion, and re-formation as a limestone mineral. The results of these experiments, as applicable to the formation of the earth, were reduced to a table, in which, by a presumption that the pressure of water had been the agent of nature, the author considers that 1700 feet of sea, with the assistance of heat, is sufficient for the formation of limestone—that by 3000 feet a complete marble may be formed, &c. ;—it may be remarked that a fragment of marble, manufactured by Sir James Hall in the course of his experiments, so far deceived the workman employed to give it a polish, that, acting under the presumption that the fragment had been dug up in Scotland, he remarked, that if it were but a little whiter, the mine where it was found might be very valuable.

In 1808, Sir James Hall represented the burgh of St Michael's in Cornwall; but after the dissolution of parliament in 1812, he did not again offer himself as a candidate. In 1813, he published his well known "*Origin, Principles, and History of Gothic Architecture*," in one volume quarto, accompanied with plates and illustrations. It contained an enlargement and correction of the contents of a paper on the same subject, delivered before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the year 1797. This elegant volume is the most popular and esteemed work on the subject of which it treats, both in the particular theory it espouses, and the interest of its details. The origin and formation of Gothic architecture had given birth to many theories, accounting for it on the imitative principles which guide the formation of all architecture, some ingenious, but none satisfactory. Warburton pointed out the similarity of Gothic aisles, to avenues of growing trees. Milner adopted the theory propounded in Bentham's *History of Ely Cathedral*, that the pointed arch was formed by the interlacing of two semicircular arches; and Murphy referred the whole formation of Gothic architecture to an imitation of the form of the pyramid. Sir James Hall perceived that no form could be appropriately assumed in Gothic architecture which might not be constructed in wicker-ware; and considered that the earliest stone buildings of this peculiar form were imitations of the natural forms assumed in constructions of boughs and twigs. "It happened," he says, in giving a lively account of the circumstance which hinted such a theory, "that the peasants of the country through which I was travelling were employed in collecting and bringing home the long rods or poles, which they make use of to support their vines, and these were to be seen in every village, standing in bundles, or waving partly loose in carts. It occurred to me that a rustic dwelling might be constructed of such rods, bearing a resemblance to works of Gothic architecture, and from which the peculiar forms of that style might have been derived. This conjecture was at first employed to account for the main parts of the structure, and for its general appearance only; but after a diligent investigation, carried on at intervals, with the assistance of friends, both in the collection of materials, and the solution of difficulties, I have been enabled to reduce even the most intricate forms of this elaborate style to the same simple origin; and to account for every feature belonging to it, from an imitation of wicker work, modified according to the principles just laid down, as applicable to architecture of every sort." Sir James, who was never fond of trusting to the power of theory without practice, erected with twigs and boughs a very beautiful Gothic edifice, from which he drew conclusions strikingly illustrative of his theory. But it must be allowed, that he has carried it in some re-

spects a little beyond the bounds of certainty, and that, however much our tasteful ancestors continued to follow the course which chance had dictated of the imitation of vegetable formations in stone, many forms were imitated, which were never attempted in the wicker edifices of our far distant progenitors. A specimen of this reasoning is to be found in the author's tracing the origin of those graceful spheroidal angles, which adorn the interior parts of the bents of the mullions in the more ornate windows of Gothic churches, to an imitation of the curled form assumed by the bark when in a state of decay, and ready to drop from the bough. The similitude is fanciful, and may be pronounced to be founded on incorrect data, as the ornament in question cannot be of prior date to that of the second period of Gothic architecture, and was unknown till many ages after the twig edifices were forgotten. The theory forms a check on the extravagancies of modern Gothic imitations, and it were well if those who perpetrate such productions, would follow the advice of Sir James Hall, and correct their work by a comparison with nature. 'This excellent and useful man,'¹ after a lingering illness of three and a half years, died at Edinburgh on the 23d day of June, 1832. Of a family at one time very numerous, he left behind him five children, of whom the second is the distinguished captain Basil Hall.

HALYBURTON, THOMAS, an eminent author and divine, and professor of divinity in the university of St Andrews, was born in December, 1674, at Dupplin in the parish of Aberdalgy, near Perth, of which parish his father had been clergyman for many years, but being a "non-conformist," was ejected after the Restoration. Upon his death, in 1682, his widow emigrated to Holland with Thomas, her only son, then eight years old, on account of the persecutions to which those of their persuasion were still exposed in their native country. This event proved fortunate for the subject of this notice, who attained uncommon proficiency in all branches of classical literature. He returned to Scotland in 1687, and after completing the usual curriculum of university education, turned his views to the church, and entered upon the proper course of study for that profession. He was licensed in 1699, and in the following year was appointed minister of the parish of Ceres, in Fifeshire. Here he continued till 1710, distinguished by the piety of his conduct, and the zeal with which he performed the duties of this charge, when his health becoming impaired in consequence of his pastoral exertions, he was appointed, upon the recommendation of the Synod of Fife, to the professor's chair of divinity in St Leonard's college at St Andrews, by patent from queen Anne. About this period, *Deism* had partly begun to come into fashion in Scotland, in imitation of the free-thinking in England and on the continent, where it had been revived in the preceding century. Many writers of great learning and talent had adopted this belief, and lent their pens either directly or indirectly to its propagation, the unhappy consequences of which were beginning to display themselves on the public mind. To counteract their pernicious influence, Mr

¹ The following anecdote of Sir James Hall, which has been related to us by the individual concerned in it, appears to be characteristic of the philosopher. Our friend had become interested in some improvements suggested upon the quadrant by a shoemaker named Gavin White, resident at Aberdour in Fife; and he sent an account of them to Sir James Hall, desiring to have his opinion of them. A few days after, Sir James Hall visited our friend, and, with little preface, addressed him as follows: "Sir, I suppose you thought me a proper person to write to on this subject, because I am president of the Royal Society. I beg to inform you that I am quite ignorant of the quadrant, and therefore unable to estimate the merit of Mr White. I have a son, however, a very clever fellow, now at Loo Choo: if he were here, he would be your man. Good morning, Sir." It occurs to the editor of these volumes, that few philosophers of even greater distinction than Sir James Hall, would have had the candour to confess ignorance upon any subject—although unquestionably to do so is one of the surest marks of superior acquirements and intellect.

Halyburton assiduously applied himself, and on his induction to the professor's chair, delivered an inaugural discourse, taking for his subject a recent publication by the celebrated Dr Pitcairn of Edinburgh, containing an attack on revealed religion under the feigned name of "*Epistola Archimedis ad Regem Gelonem albæ Græcæ reperta, anno æræ Christianæ, 1688, A. Pitcarnio, M.D. ut vulgo creditur, auctore.*" One of the earliest, and perhaps the most powerful, of all the deistical writers that have yet appeared, was Edward lord Herbert of Chesham in Shropshire, (elder brother of the amiable George Herbert, the well known English poet,) who figured conspicuously in the political world in the time of Charles I., and wrote several works in disproof of the truth or necessity of revealed religion. His most important publication, entitled "*De Veritate,*" was originally printed at Paris in 1624, in consequence, as the author solemnly declares, of the direct sanction of heaven to that effect, but was afterwards republished in London, and obtained very general circulation. Mr Halyburton applied himself zealously to refute the doctrines contained in these works and others of similar tendency from the pens of different other writers, and produced his "*Natural Religion Insufficient, and Revealed Necessary to Man's Happiness,*" a most able and elaborate performance, in which he demonstrates with great clearness and force the defective nature of reason, even in judging of the character of a Deity,—the kind of worship which ought to be accorded him, &c. Dr Leland, in his letters, entitled "*View of Deistical Writers,*" expresses great admiration of this performance, and regrets that the narrowness and illiberality of the writer's opinions on some points operated prejudicially against it in the minds of many persons. Neither this nor any other of Mr Halyburton's works were given to the world during his life, which unfortunately terminated in September, 1712, being then only in his thirty-eighth year. Besides the above work, which was published in 1714, the two others by which he is best known in Scotland are "*The Great Concern of Salvation,*" published in 1721, and "*Ten Sermons preached before and after the celebration of the Lord's Supper,*" published in 1722. A complete edition of his works in one vol. 8vo. has lately been published at Glasgow.

HAMILTON, (COUNT) ANTHONY, a pleasing describer of manners, and writer of fiction, was born about the year 1646. Although a native of Ireland, and in after life more connected with France and England than with Scotland, the parentage of this eminent writer warrants us in considering him a proper person to fill a place in a biography of eminent Scotsmen. The father of Anthony Hamilton was a cadet of the ducal house of Hamilton, and his mother was sister to the celebrated duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland. The course of politics pursued by the father and his connexions compelled him, on the execution of Charles the first, to take refuge on the continent, and the subject of our memoir, then an infant, accompanied his parents and the royal family in their exile in France. The long residence of the exiles in a country where their cause was respected, produced interchanges of social manners, feelings, and pursuits, unknown to the rival nations since the days of the Crusades, and the young writer obtained by early habit that colloquial knowledge of the language, and familiar acquaintance with the magnificent court of France, which enabled him to draw a finished picture of French life, as it existed in its native purity and as it became gradually engrafted in English society. At the age of fourteen he returned with the restored monarch to England, but in assuming the station and duties of a British subject, he is said to have felt a reluctance to abandon the levities of a gayer minded people, which were to him native feelings. The return of the court brought with it Englishmen, who had assimilated their manners to those of the French, and Frenchmen, anxious to see the

country which had beheaded its king, and not averse to bestow the polish of their own elegant court on the rough framework of the re-constructed kingdom. Of these polished foreigners, the circumstances under which one celebrated individual visited the British court are too much interwoven with the literary fame of Anthony Hamilton, to be here omitted. The chevalier, afterwards count de Grammont, one of the gayest ornaments of the court of Louis, found it inconvenient to remain in France after having disputed with his master the heart of a favourite mistress. High born, personally courageous, enthusiastic in the acquisition of "glory," handsome, extravagant, an inveterate gambler, a victor in war and in love, *Volage, et même un peu perfide en amour*, the French emigrant to the court of England was a perfect human being, according to the measure of the time and the place. The admired qualities with which he was gifted by nature, were such as control and prudence could not make more agreeable; but the friends of the chevalier seem sometimes to have regretted that the liaisons in which he was frequently engaged were so destructive to the peace of others, and would have prudently suggested the pursuit of intrigues, which might have been less dangerous to his personal safety. The chevalier found in his exile a new field rich in objects that engaged his vagrant affections. Tired of alternate conquest and defeat, he is represented as having finally concentrated his affections on the sister of his celebrated biographer, on whom the brother has bestowed poetical charms, in one of the most exquisite of his living descriptions of female beauty, but who has been less charitably treated in the correspondence of some of her female rivals. The attentions of the chevalier towards Miss Hamilton were of that decided cast which admitted of but one interpretation, and justice to his memory requires the admission, that he seemed to have fixed on her as firm and honourable an affection as so versatile a heart could form. But constancy was not his characteristic virtue. He forgot for an interval his vows and promises, and prepared to return to France without making any particular explanation with the lady or her brother. When he had just left the city, Anthony Hamilton and his brother George found it absolutely necessary to prepare their pistols, and give chase to the faithless lover. Before he had reached Dover, the carriage of the offended brothers had nearly overtaken him. "Chevalier De Grammont," they cried, "have you forgot nothing in London?"—"Beg pardon, gentlemen," said the pursued, "I forgot to marry your sister." The marriage was immediately concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, and the inconstant courtier appears to have ever after enjoyed a due share of domestic felicity and tranquillity. The chevalier returned with his wife to his native country, and Hamilton seems to have added to the attraction of early associations a desire to pay frequent visits to a country which contained a sister for whom he seems to have felt much affection. Hamilton and Grammont entertained for each other an esteem which was fostered and preserved by the similarity of their tastes and dispositions. A third person, differing in many respects from both, while he resembled them in his intellect, was the tasteful and unfortunate St Evremond, and many of the most superb wits of the brilliant court of Louis XIV. added the pleasures, though not always the advantages of their talents to the distinguished circle. Wit and intellect, however perverted, always meet the due homage of qualities which cannot be very much abused, and generally exercise themselves for the benefit of mankind; but unfortunately the fashion of the age prompted its best ornaments to seek amusement among the most degraded of the species, who were in a manner elevated by the approach which their superiors strove to make towards them, and these men could descend so far in the scale of humanity as to find pleasure even in the company of the notorious Blood. Anthony

Hamilton was naturally a favourite at the court of St Germain's, and maintained a prominent figure in many of the gorgeous entertainments of the epicurean monarch. He is said to have performed a part in the celebrated ballet of the Triumph of Love. Being by birth and education a professed Roman catholic, Charles II., who befriended him as a courtier, dared not, and could not by the laws, bestow on him any ostensible situation as a statesman. His brother James, however, was less scrupulous, and under his short reign Hamilton found himself colonel of a regiment of foot, and governor of Limerick. Having enjoyed the fruits of the monarch's rashness, Hamilton faithfully bore his share of the consequences, and accompanied his exiled prince to St Germain's, but he was no lover of solitude, seclusion, and the Jesuits, and took little pains to conceal his sense of the disadvantageous change which the palace had experienced since his previous residence within its walls. The company of the brilliant wits of France sometimes exhilarated his retirement, but the playful count frequently found that in the sombre residence of the exiled monarch, the talents which had astonished and delighted multitudes must be confined to his own solitary person, or discover some other method of displaying themselves to the world; and it is likely that we may date to the loyalty of the author, the production of one of the most interesting pictures of men and manners that was ever penned. All the works of count Anthony Hamilton were prepared during his exile, and it was then that he formed, of the life and character of his brother-in-law, a nucleus round which he span a vivid description of the manners of the day, and of the most distinguished persons of the English court. In the "*Memoirs of Grammont*," unlike Le Sage, Cervantes, and Fielding, the author paints the vices, follies, and weaknesses of men, not as a spectator, but as an actor, and he may be suspected of having added many kindred adventures of his own to these partly true and partly imagined of his hero. But the elasticity of a vivid and lively imagination, acute in the observation of frailties and follies, is prominent in his graphic descriptions; and no one who reads his cool pictures of vice and sophism can avoid the conviction that the author looked on the whole with the eye of a satirist, and had a mind fitted for better things—while at the same time the spirit of the age had accustomed his mind, in the words of La Harpe, *ne connoître d'autre vice que le ridicule*. The picture of the English court drawn by Hamilton is highly instructive as matter of history—it represents an aspect of society which may never recur, and the characters of many individuals whose talents and adventures are interesting to the student of human nature: nor will the interest of these sketches be diminished, when they are compared with the characters of the same individuals portrayed by the graver pencils of Hyde and Burnet. That the picture is fascinating with all its deformity, has been well objected to the narrative of the witty philosopher, but few who read the work in this certainly more proper and becoming age will find much inducement to follow the morals of its heroes; and those who wish a graver history of the times may refer to the *Atalantis* of Mrs Manley, where if the details are more unvarnished, they are neither so likely to gratify a well regulated taste, nor to leave the morals so slightly affected. The other works written by count Anthony Hamilton in his solitude were *Le Belier*, *Fleur d'épine*—*Les quatre Facurdiens* et *Teneyde*. Many persons accused him of extravagance in his *Eastern Tales*—a proof that his refined wit had not allowed him to indulge sufficiently in real English grotesqueness, when he wished to caricature the French out of a ravenous appetite for the wonders of the Arabian Nights Entertainments. Count Anthony Hamilton died at St Germain's in 1720, in his 64th year, and on his death-bed exhibited feelings of religion, which Voltaire and others have taken pains to exhibit as inconsistent with his professions and the

conduct of his life. His works have been highly esteemed in France, and whether from an amalgamation of the feelings of the two nations, or its intrinsic merits, Englishmen have professed to find in one of them the best picture of the habits and feelings of that brilliant and versatile nation. Grammont himself is maintained by St Simon, to have been active in bringing before the world the work in which his own probity is so prominently described, and to have appealed to the chancellor against the decision of Fontenelle, who as censor of the work considered it a very improper attack on so eminent a person as the count de Grammont. The first complete collection of Hamilton's works was published in six vols. 12mo, along with his correspondence, in 1749. A fine impression of Grammont was prepared by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill in 1772, in 4to, with notes and portraits—a rare edition, less tastefully republished in 1783. In 1792, Edwards published a quarto edition, with correct notes, numerous portraits, and an English translation, which has been twice republished. Two fine editions of the author's whole works was published at Paris, 1812, four vols. 8vo, and 1813, five vols. 18mo, accompanied with an extract from a translation into French, of Pope's Essay on Criticism, by the count, said still to exist in manuscript.

HAMILTON, GAVIN, a distinguished painter, was descended from the ancient family of the Hamiltons of Murdieston, originally of Fife, but latterly of Lanarkshire; and he was born in the town of Lanark. From a very early period of his life, he entertained a strong love for historic painting. It cannot be traced with any degree of certainty under what master he first studied in his native country, as there was no fixed school of painting established in Britain at the time, but being sent to Rome while yet very young, he became a scholar of the celebrated Augustine Mossuchi. On his return to Scotland after many years' absence, his friends wished him to apply himself to portrait-painting, but having imbibed in Italy higher ideas of the art, after a few successful attempts, he abandoned that line and attached himself entirely to historic composition. Few of his portraits are to be found in Britain, and of these two full lengths of the duke and duchess of Hamilton are considered the best. The figure of the duchess with a greyhound leaping upon her is well known by the mezzotinto prints taken from it, to be found in almost every good collector's hands. There is said to be another unfinished portrait of the same duchess by him, in which the then duke of Hamilton thought the likeness so very striking, that he took it from the painter, and would never allow it to be finished, lest the resemblance should be lost. He remained but a few months in his native country, and returned to Rome, where he resided for the principal part of his life. From the advantages of a liberal education, being perfectly familiar with the works of the great masters of Grecian and Roman literature, he displayed a highly classic taste in the choice of his subjects; and the style at which he always and successfully aimed, made him at least equal to his most celebrated contemporaries. The most capital collection of Mr Hamilton's paintings that can be seen in any one place, was, and if we mistake not is at present, in a saloon in the villa Borghese, which was wholly painted by him, and represents in different compartments the story of Paris. These were painted on the ceiling, and other scenes form a series of pictures round the alcove on a smaller scale. This work, though its position be not what an artist would choose as the most advantageous for exhibiting his finest efforts, has long been accounted a performance of very high excellence. The prince Borghese, as if with a view to do honour to Scottish artists, had the adjoining apartment painted by Jacob More, who excelled as much in landscape as Hamilton in historical painting. He had another saloon in the same palace painted by Mengs, the most celebrated German artist, and

these three apartments were conceived to exhibit the finest specimens of modern painting then to be found in Italy.

In his historical pictures, some of which have come to Britain, Mr Hamilton plainly discovers that he studied the chaste models of antiquity with more attention than the living figures around him; which has given his paintings of ancient histories that propriety with regard to costume, which distinguished them at the time from most modern compositions.

One of his greatest works was his Homer, consisting of a series of pictures, representing scenes taken from the Iliad; these have been dispersed into various parts of Europe, and can now only be seen in one continued series in the excellent engravings made of them by Cunego, under the eye of Mr Hamilton himself. Several of these paintings came to Britain, but only three reached Scotland. One of these, the parting of Hector and Andromache, was in the possession of the duke of Hamilton. Another represents the death of Lucretia, in the collection of the earl of Hopetoun, and was deemed by all judges as a capital performance. The third was in the house of a Mrs Scott, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. It represents Achilles dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy.—A sublime picture, which if not the *chef d'œuvre* of Mr Hamilton, would alone have been sufficient to have transmitted his name to posterity as one of the greatest artists, was painted for the duke of Bedford, and had been in his possession some time before the unfortunate accident which deprived him of his son the marquis of Tavistock, whose disastrous fate had some resemblance to the story of the picture, being thrown from his horse and dragged to death, his foot having stuck in the stirrup; none of the family could bear to look on the picture, and it was ordered to be put away. General Scott became the purchaser of it at a very moderate price. The figure of Achilles in this picture is painted with surprising characteristic justness, spirit, and fire, and might stand the test of the severest criticism. It was in the grand and terrible Mr Hamilton chiefly excelled. His female characters had more of the dignity of Juno, or the coldness of Diana, than the soft inviting playfulness of the goddess of love.

He published at Rome in 1773 a folio volume, entitled "*Schola Picturæ Italiæ*," or the "*Italian School of Painting*," composed of a number of fine engravings by Cunego, making part of the collection of Piranesi; he there traces the different styles from Leonardi di Vinci, to the Carracci's; all the drawings were made by Mr Hamilton himself, and this admirable collection now forms one of the principal treasures in the first libraries in Europe. All his best pictures were likewise engraved under his own eye by artists of the first ability, so that the world at large has been enabled to form a judgment of the style and merit of his works. In reference to the original pictures from whence the engravings were taken, many contradictory opinions have been expressed; some have considered his figures as wanting in the characteristic purity and correctness of form so strictly observed in the antique—others have said he was no colourist, though that was a point of his art after which he was most solicitous. But setting all contending opinions apart, had Mr Hamilton never painted a picture, the service he otherwise rendered to the fine arts would be sufficient to exalt his name in the eyes of posterity. From being profoundly acquainted with the history of the ancient state of Italy, he was enabled to bring to light many of the long buried treasures of antiquity, and to this noble object he devoted almost the whole of the latter part of his life. He was permitted by the government of the Roman states to open scavo in various places; at Centumcellæ, Velletri, Ostia, and above all at Tivoli, among the ruins of Adrian's villa; and it must be owned, that the success which crowned his researches made ample

amends for the loss which painting may have suffered by the intermission of his practice and example. Many of the first collections in Germany and Russia are enriched by statues, busts, and bas-reliefs of his discovery.

In the collection of the Museo Clementino, next to the treasures of Belvidere, the contributions of Hamilton were by far the most important. The Apollo, with six of the nine muses, were all of his finding. At the ruins of ancient Gabii (celebrated by Virgil in his sixth book of the *Æneid*, and by Horace, epistle xi. b. 1.) he was also very fortunate, particularly in the discovery of a Diana, a Germanicus, a Pan, and several rich columns of verd antique, and marmo fiortio. The paintings in fresco, preserved also by his great care and research, are admitted to surpass all others found in Italy.

He visited Scotland several times in the decline of his life, and had serious thoughts of settling altogether in Lanark, where he at one time gave orders for a painting-room to be built for him; but finding the climate unsuitable to his constitution, he abandoned the idea and returned to Rome, where he died, according to Bryan's account in his *History of Painting*, about 1775 or 1776.

All accounts of this artist agree in stating, that however exalted his genius might be, it was far surpassed by the benevolence and liberality of his character.

HAMILTON, PATRICK, one of the first martyrs to the doctrines of the reformed religion, was born about the year 1503. He was nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother; and was besides related to king James V. of Scotland. And by this illustrious connexion there stands forth another proof of the erroneousness of the commonly received opinion, that the first reformers were generally men of inferior birth. He was early educated for the church, with high views of preferment from his powerful connexions, and in order that he might prosecute his studies undisturbed by any cares for his present subsistence, had the abbacy of Ferme bestowed upon him. While yet but a very young man, he travelled into Germany, with the view of completing those studies which he had begun at home, and to which he had applied himself with great assiduity. Attracted by the fame of the university of Wirtemberg, he repaired thither, and after remaining some time, removed to that of Marburg, where he was the first who introduced public disputations on theological questions. Here he formed an intimacy with the celebrated reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, who finding in Hamilton an apt scholar, and one already celebrated for superior talent, soon and successfully instructed him in the new views of religion which they themselves entertained. His rapid progress in these studies delighted his instructors, and not only they themselves but all who were of their way of thinking, soon perceived that in their young pupil they had found one who would make a distinguished figure in propagating the new faith; and accordingly he became an object of great and peculiar interest to all the disciples of Luther and Melancthon, who waited with much anxiety to see what part the youthful reformer would take in the hazardous and mighty enterprise of at once overthrowing the church of Rome and establishing that of the true religion; a task which not only required talents of the highest order to combat the learned men who were of the opposite faith, but also the most determined courage to face the dangers which were certain to accompany their hostility. In the meantime, Hamilton had come to the resolution of beginning his perilous career in his native country, and with this view returned to Scotland, being yet little more than twenty-three years of age. The gallant young soldier of the true church had no sooner arrived, than, although he knew it was at the hazard of his life, for Huss and Jerome in Germany, and Resby and Craw in Scotland, had already perished by the flames for holding tenets opposed to those of Rome—he began publicly to

expose the corruptions of the Romish church, and to point out the errors which had crept into its religion as professed in Scotland. Hamilton's gentle demeanour and powerful eloquence soon procured him many followers, and these were every day increasing in number. The Romish ecclesiastics became alarmed at this progress of heresy, and determined to put an immediate stop to it. Not choosing, however, at first to proceed openly against him, Beaton, then archbishop of St Andrews, under pretence of desiring a friendly conference with him on religious matters, invited him to that city, then the head-quarters of the Romish church in Scotland. Deceived by the terms of the invitation, Hamilton repaired to St Andrews. All that Beaton desired was now attained; the young reformer was within his grasp. One Campbell, a prior of the black friars, was employed to confer with him, and to ascertain what his doctrines really were. This duty Campbell performed by means of the most profound treachery. He affected to be persuaded by Hamilton's reasoning, acknowledged that his objections against the Romish religion were well founded, and, in short, seemed a convert to the doctrines of his unsuspecting victim; and thus obtained from him acknowledgments of opinions which brought him immediately under the power of the church. Campbell having from time to time reported the conversations which took place, Hamilton was at length apprehended in the middle of the night, and thrown into prison. On the day after, he was brought before the archbishop and his convention, charged with entertaining sundry heretical opinions, Campbell being his accuser, and as a matter of course being found guilty, was sentenced to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices in the church; and furthermore, to be delivered over to the secular arm for corporeal punishment, a result which soon followed. On the afternoon of the same day he was hurried to the stake, lest the king should interfere in his behalf. A quantity of timber, coals, and other combustibles having been collected into a pile in the area before the gate of St Salvator's college, the young martyr was bound to a stake in the middle of it. A train of powder had been laid to kindle the fire, but the effect of its explosion was only to add to the victim's sufferings, for it failed to ignite the pile, but scorched his face and hands severely. In this dreadful situation he remained, praying fervently the while, and maintaining his faith with unshaken fortitude, until more powder was brought from the castle. The fire was now kindled, and the intrepid sufferer perished, recommending his soul to his God, and calling upon him to dispel the darkness which overshadowed the land.

The infamous and most active agent in his destruction, Campbell, was soon after Hamilton's death, seized with a remorse of conscience for the part he had acted in bringing about that tragedy, which drove him to distraction, and he died a year after, under the most dreadful apprehensions of eternal wrath.

HAMILTON, ROBERT, LL.D., a mathematician and political economist, was born in June, 1743. He was the eighth son of Gavin Hamilton,¹ a bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh, whose father was at one time professor of divinity in, and afterwards principal of, the university of Edinburgh. In the life of a retired and unobtrusive student, who has hardly ever left his books to engage even in the little warfares of literary controversy, there is seldom much to attract the attention of the ordinary reader: but when perusing the annals of one of the most feverish periods of the history of the world, posterity may show a wish to know something about the man who discovered the fallacy of the cele-

¹ Gavin Hamilton, executed an ingenious and accurate model of Edinburgh, which cost him some years' labour, and was exhibited in a room in the Royal Infirmary in 1753 and 1754; after his death it was neglected and broken up for firewood. It represented a scheme for an access to the High Street, by a sloping road from the West Church; precisely the idea now acted upon in what are called the Improvements of Edinburgh.

brated sinking fund, and checked a nation in the career of extravagance, by displaying to it, in characters not to be mistaken, the unpalliated truth of its situation. Holding this in mind, we will be excused for giving to the world some minutiae of this remarkable man, whom neither the events of his life in general, nor his connexion with the literary history of the age, would have rendered an object of much biographical interest. Like many men who have signalized themselves for the originality or abstractness of their views, Hamilton in his early years suffered much from constitutional debility, an affliction from which his many after years were signally exempt, till his last illness, his only complaint being a frequent recurrence of lumbago, which gave him a characteristic stoop in walking. He is described as having shown, in the progress of his education, an appetite for almost every description of knowledge, and to have added to the species of information for which he has been celebrated, a minute acquaintance with classical and general philosophical subjects: a respected friend, long belonging to the circle of Hamilton's literary acquaintance, has described his mind as having less quickness in sudden apprehension of his subject, than power in grappling with all its bearings, and comprehending it thoroughly after it had been sometime submitted to his comprehension; it was exactly of that steady, strong, and trust-worthy order, on which teachers of sense and zeal love to bestow their labour. He was, in consequence, a general favourite with his instructors, and more especially with the celebrated Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics in Edinburgh, who looked on the progress and prospects of his future scholar with pride and friendly satisfaction. The partiality of Mr Hamilton for a literary life he was compelled to yield to circumstances, which rendered it expedient that he should spend some time in the banking establishment of Messrs William Hogg & Son, as a preparatory introduction to a commercial or banking profession; a method of spending his time, less to be regretted than it might have been in the case of most other literary men, as, if it did not give him the first introduction to the species of speculation in which he afterwards indulged, it must have early provided him with that practical information on the general money system of the country, which his works so strikingly exhibit. Soon after this, Mr Hamilton began to form the literary acquaintance of young men of his own standing and pursuits, some of whom gathered themselves into that knot of confidential literary communication, which afterwards expanded into a nursery of orators, statesmen, and philosophers, of the highest grade, now well known by the name of the Speculative Society. The manner in which the young political economist became acquainted with lord Kaimes, has something in it of the simplicity of that literary free masonry, which generally forms a chain of friendly intercourse between the celebrated men of any particular period, and those who are just rising to replace them in the regard and admiration of the world. His lordship's attention having been attracted by the views on one of his own works, expressed in a criticism which had been anonymously supplied by Mr Hamilton, to one of the periodicals of the day—he conveyed through the same paper a wish that the author of the critique, if already known, might become better known to him, and if a stranger, would communicate to him the pleasure of his acquaintance. The diffident critic was with difficulty prevailed on to accept the flattering offer; the elegant judge expressed considerable surprise at the youth of the writer, when compared with the justness and profundity of his views, and communicated to him by a general invitation to his house, the advantages of an intercourse with his refined and gifted circle of visitors. In 1766, Mr Hamilton, then only twenty-three years of age, was prevailed on by his friends to offer himself as a candidate for the mathematical chair of Marischal college in Aberdeen, then va-

cant by the death of Mr Stewart, and though unsuccessful, the appointment being in favour of Mr Trail, he left behind him a very high sense of his abilities in the minds of the judges of the competition, one of whom, in a letter to Dr Gregory, states, that "he discovered a remarkable genius for mathematics, and a justness of apprehension and perspicuity, that is rarely to be met with."—"He is," continues the same individual, "an excellent demonstrator; always planned out his demonstration with judgment, and apprized his audience where the stress lay, so that he brought it to a conclusion in a most perspicuous manner, and in such a way that no person of common understanding could miss it." After this unsuccessful attempt to acquire a situation more congenial to his pursuits, Mr Hamilton became a partner in the conducting of a paper mill, which had been established by his father—a concern which, in 1769, he relinquished to the care of a manager, on his appointment to the rectorship of the academy at Perth. In 1771 he married Miss Anne Mitchell of Ladath, whom he had the misfortune of losing seven years afterwards. In 1779, the chair of natural philosophy in Marischal college, in the gift of the crown, was presented to Dr Hamilton. From this chair Dr Copland,—a gentleman whose high scientific knowledge and private worth rendered him, to all who had the means of knowing his attainments, (of which he has unfortunately left behind him no specimen,) as highly respected for his knowledge of natural philosophy and history, as his colleague was for that of the studies he more particularly followed,—had been removed to the mathematical chair in the same university. The natural inclination and studies of each, led him to prefer the situation of the other to his own, and after teaching the natural philosophy class for one year, Dr Hamilton effected an exchange with his colleague, satisfactory to both. He was not, however, formally presented to the mathematical chair till several years afterwards. A short time previously to the period of his life we are now discussing, Dr Hamilton had commenced the series of useful works which have so deservedly raised his name. In 1777, appeared the practical work, so well known by the name of "Hamilton's Merchandise;"—he published in 1790, a short essay on Peace and War, full of those benevolent doctrines, which even a civilized age so seldom opposes to the progress of licensed destruction. In 1796, Dr Hamilton published his Arithmetic, a work which has been frequently reprinted,—and in 1800, another work of a similar elementary description, called "Heads of a Course of Mathematics," intended for the use of his own students: but the great work so generally attached to his name, did not appear till he had passed his seventieth year. The "Inquiry concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and Present State of the National Debt of Great Britain," was published at Edinburgh in 1813—it created in every quarter, except that which might have best profited by the warning voice, a sudden consciousness of the folly of the system under which the national income was in many respects conducted, but it was not till his discoveries had made their silent progress through the medium of public opinion, that they began gradually to affect the measures of the government. The principal part of this inquiry, is devoted to the consideration of the measures which have at different periods been adopted for attempting the reduction of the national debt. The earliest attempt at a sinking fund was made in the year 1716, under the auspices of Sir Robert Walpole, a measure of which that acute minister may not improbably have seen the inutility, as in the year 1733, he applied five millions of the then sinking fund to the public exigencies; the principal always nominally existed, although it was not maintained with constant regularity and zeal, until the year 1786, when the celebrated sinking fund of Mr Pitt was formed, by the disposal of part of the income of the nation to commissioners for the redemption of the debt, a mea-

sure which was modified in 1792, by the assignment of one per cent annually, on the nominal capital of each loan contracted during the war, as a sinking fund appropriated for the redemption of the particular loan to which it was attached. It underwent several other modifications, particularly in 1802 and 1807. The great prophet and propounder of this system, the celebrated Dr Price, unfolded his views on the subject, in his treatise "Of Reversionary Annuities," published in 1771. It is a general opinion, that an application to studies strictly numerical, will abstract the mind from the prejudice and enthusiasm of theory. Dr Price has proved the fallacy of such a principle, by supporting his tables of calculations, with all the virulence and impatience of a vindicator of the authenticity of Ossian's Poems, or of the honour of queen Mary. Dr Price has given us a glowing example of his theory, the often repeated instance of the state of a penny set aside and allowed to accumulate from the time of Christ:—if allowed to remain at compound interest, it will accumulate to, we forget exactly how many million globes of gold, each the size of our own earth—if it accumulate at simple interest, the golden vision shrinks to the compass of a few shillings—and if not put out at interest at all, it will continue throughout all ages the pitiful penny it was at the commencement. The application of the principle to an easy and cheap method of liquidating the national debt, was so obvious to Dr Price, that he treated the comparative coldness with which his advice was received, as a man who considered that his neighbours are deficient in comprehending the first rules of arithmetic; and it certainly is a singular instance of the indolence of the national mind, and the readiness with which government grasped at any illusive theory, which showed a healing alternative to the extravagance of its measures, that no one appeared to propose the converse of the simile, and to remind the visionary financier, that in applying it to national borrowing, the borrower, by allowing one of the pennies he has borrowed to accumulate in his favour at compound interest, is in just the same situation as if he had deducted the penny from the sum he borrowed, and thus prevented the penny and its compound interest from accumulating against him. The practical results of Dr Price's theories were, the proposal of a plan, by which a nation might borrow at simple interest, and accumulate at compound interest a fund for its repayment: boldly pushing his theory to its extremities, and maintaining that it is better to borrow at high than at low interest, because the debt will be more speedily repaid; and as a corollary, that a sinking fund during war is more efficient than at any other time, and that to terminate it *then*, is "the madness of giving it a mortal blow." The supposition maintained by Dr Hamilton, in opposition to these golden visions of eternal borrowing for the purpose of increasing national riches, did not require the aid of much rhetoric for its support—it is, that if a person borrows money, and assigns a part of it to accumulate at compound interest for the repayment of the whole, he is just in the same situation as if he had deducted that part from his loan—and hence the general scope of his argument goes to prove the utter uselessness of a borrowed sinking fund, and the fallacy of continuing its operation during war, or when the expenditure of the nation overbalances the income. The absurdity of setting aside a portion of the sum borrowed for this purpose, (and generally borrowed at more disadvantageous terms as the loan is to any degree increased,) was partially prevented by a suggestion of Mr Fox; but the sinking fund was strictly a borrowed one, in as far as money was laid aside for it, while the nation was obliged to borrow for the support of its expenditure. The evil of the system is found by Dr Hamilton to consist, not only in the fallacy it imposes on the public, but in its positive loss of resources. The loans are raised at a rate more disadvantageous to the borrower than that at which the creditor afterwards

receives payment of them, and the management of the system is expensive; if a man who is in debt borrows merely for the purpose of paying his debt, and transacts the business himself, he merely exposes himself to more trouble than he would have encountered by continuing debtor to his former creditor; if he employ an agent to transact the business, he is a loser by the amount of fees paid to that agent. These truths Dr Hamilton is not content with proving argumentatively—he has coupled them with a minute history of the various financial proceedings of the country, and tables of practical calculation, giving, on the one hand, historical information; and, on the other, showing the exact sums which the government has at different periods misapplied. Along with Mr Pitt's system of finance, he has given an account of that of lord Henry Petty, established in 1807; a complicated scheme, the operation of which seems not to have been perceived by its inventor, and which, had it continued for any length of time, might have produced effects more ruinous than those of any system which has been devised. The summary of his proofs and discussions on the subject, as expressed in his own words, is not very flattering to the principle which has been in general followed: "The excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which the public debt can be discharged. The increase of the revenue, or the diminution of expense, are the only means by which a sinking fund can be enlarged, and its operations rendered more effectual; and all schemes for discharging the national debt, by sinking funds, operating by compound interest, or in any other manner, unless so far as they are founded upon this principle, are illusory." But it cannot be said that Dr Hamilton has looked with a feeling of anything resembling enmity on the object of his attack; he has allowed the sinking fund all that its chief supporters now pretend to arrogate to it, although the admission comes more in the form of palliation than of approbation. "If the nation," he says, "impressed with a conviction of the importance of a system established by a popular minister, has, in order to adhere to it, adopted measures, either of frugality in expenditure, or exertion in raising taxes, which it would not otherwise have done, the sinking fund ought not to be considered inefficient: and its effects may be of great importance."—"The sinking fund," says an illustrious commentator on Dr Hamilton's work, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, following up the same train of reasoning, "is therefore useful as an engine of taxation;" and now that the glorious vision of the great financial dreamer has vanished, and left nothing behind it but the operation of the ordinary dull machinery, by which debts are paid off through industry and economy, one can hardly suppose that the great minister who set the engine in motion, was himself ignorant (however much he might have chosen others to remain so) of its real powerlessness. The discovery made by Dr Hamilton was one of those few triumphant achievements, which, founded on the indisputable ground of practical calculation, can never be controverted or doubted: and although a few individuals, from a love of system, while apparently admitting the truths demonstrated by Dr Hamilton, in attempting to vindicate the system on separate grounds, have fallen, *mutato nomine*, into the same fallacy,¹ the Edinburgh reviewers, Ricardo, Say, and all the eminent political economists of the age, have supported his doctrine; while the venerable lord Grenville—a member of the administration which devised the sinking fund, and for some time first lord of the treasury—has, in a late pamphlet, which is a striking and noble specimen of political candour, admitted that the treatise of Dr Hamilton opened his eyes to the fallacy of his once favourite measure.

A year after the publication of this great work, the laborious services of the

¹ Vide "A Letter to lord Grenville on the sinking fund, by Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, Esq., M. P., London, 1828."

venerable philosopher were considered as well entitling him to leave the laborious duties of his three mathematical classes to the care of an assistant, who was at the same time appointed his future successor. The person chosen was Mr John Cruickshank, a gentleman who, whether or not he may be fruitful in the talents which distinguished his predecessor, must be allowed to be more successful in preserving the discipline of his class, a task for which the absent habits of Dr Hamilton rendered him rather unfit. In 1825, Dr Hamilton's declining years were saddened by the death of his second wife, a daughter of Mr Morison of Elsick, whom he had married in 1782; and on the 14th day of July, 1829, he died in the bosom of his family, and in that retirement which his unobtrusive mind always courted, and which he had never for any considerably period relinquished. Dr Hamilton left behind him three daughters, of whom the eldest remains unmarried. The second is widow of Mr Thomson of Banchory, in Kincardineshire, and the youngest is married to the Rev. Robert Swan of Abercrombie, in Fife. Several essays were found among Dr Hamilton's papers, which were published by his friends in 1830, under the title of "The Progress of Society:" it is probable that the author might have intended to have infused through them a connecting spirit, which might have formed them into a general treatise on most subjects connected with political economy; they now appear in a disconnected state, and although the majority of them contain very deep and abstruse remarks well worthy of attention, there are others which may, perhaps, be said to contain too many of the general principles of which the earlier metaphysicians of Scotland were very fond, and too little of the close and practical reasoning which generally distinguishes their author's mind, to be such as he might have thought fit to have given to the world in their present state. The commercial policy argued by Dr Hamilton in these tracts, is the same benevolent and liberal system which was first inculcated by Smith, and which it is hoped may finally teach mankind, that the nearest and purest path to national prosperity, is that mutual interchange of advantages, which tends to further the prosperity of all nations under the sun. In his remarks on the origin of the value of money, he has differed from the opinion maintained by the Edinburgh reviewers, and the first political economists of the age,—considering the value of a metallic currency to arise, not from its worth as a commodity, but chiefly from its use as an instrument of exchange; and the closeness of his reasonings on the subject, goes far to shake the opinion generally entertained.

The Essays on Rent, and the consequent theory of the incidence of tithes, argued with a modesty which such an author need hardly have adopted, are well worthy the consideration of those who have turned their attention to these abstruse subjects. The author appears to doubt the theory discovered by Dr Anderson, and followed up by Sir Edward West, Malthus, Ricardo, and M'Culloch, which discovers rent to be the surplus of the value of the produce of more fruitful lands of a country, over the produce of the most sterile soil, which the demands of the community requires to be taken into cultivation. "What," says our author, in answer to the assumption of Dr Anderson, "would happen if all the land in an appropriated country were of equal fertility? It would hardly be affirmed that, in that case, all rent would cease." To this the following answer might be made—Were the population insufficient to consume the whole produce of rich fertile land, (which could not long be the case,) certainly there would be no rent. Were the consumption equal to or beyond the produce, the rent would be regulated thus:—If foreign corn could be introduced at a price as low as that at which it could be raised, there would still be no rent—if, either from the state of cultivation of other countries, or the imposition of a duty, corn could only be imported at a price beyond that at which it can

be grown, rent would be demanded to such an extent as to raise the price of the home produce to a par with the imported—in the former case the rent being the natural consequence of commerce, in the latter the creature of legislation. The principle maintained by Dr Anderson would here exactly apply, the higher price of importing corn to that of producing it at home, being a parallel to the higher cost of raising produce in sterile, than in fruitful soils. But this intricate subject, unsuited to the present work, we gladly relinquish, with the knowledge that our author's ideas on this subject are about to be discussed by an abler hand. In these Essays we think we can perceive here and there traits of that simplicity and abstraction from the routine of the world, which was on some occasions a characteristic of their author. Men who mingle unobserved with the rest of their species, may be well versant in the lighter and more historical portions of the philosophy of mind and matter; but the illustrious examples of Newton, Locke, Smith, and many others, have shown us, that the limitation of the human faculties calls to the aid of the more abstruse branches of science, a partial, if not total abstraction from all other subjects, for definite periods. Dr Hamilton was remarkable for his absence; not that he mingled subjects with each other, and mistook what he was thinking about, the error of a weak mind, but he was frequently engaged in his mathematical studies, when other persons were differently employed. As with other absent men, numberless are the anecdotes which are preserved of his abstractions—many of them doubtless unfounded, while at the same time it must be allowed, that he frequently afforded amusement to inferior wits. He possessed a singular diffidence of manner, which in a less remarkable man might have been looked upon as humility. Taking advantage of this feeling, and of his frequent abstractions, his class gave him perpetual annoyance, and in the latter days of his tuition, the spirit of mischief and trickery, natural when it can be followed up in classes the greater portion of which consisted of mere boys, created scenes of perfect anarchy and juvenile mischief. The author of this memoir recollects distinctly his stooping shadowy figure as he glided through the rest of his colleagues in the university, with his good-humoured small round face, and his minute but keenly twinkling eyes, surrounded by a thousand wrinkles, having in his manner so little of that pedagogical importance so apt to distinguish the teachers of youth, especially in spots where the assumption of scientific knowledge is not held in curb, by intercourse with an extensive body of men of learning. It is not by any means to be presumed, however, that the subject of our memoir, though retired, and occasionally abstracted in his habits, excluded himself from his usual share in the business of the world. He led a generally active life. He maintained a correspondence with various British statesmen on important subjects, and with Say and Fahrenberg, the latter of whom requested permission to translate the work on the national debt into German. He frequently represented his college in the General Assembly—on the bursary funds of the university, and on the decision of a very important prize intrusted to him and his colleagues, he bestowed much time and attention; and he gave assistance in the management of the clergymen's widows' fund of Scotland, and in plans for the maintenance of the poor of Aberdeen.

It was lately proposed among some influential inhabitants of Aberdeen, that a public monument should be erected to the memory of this, one of the most eminent of its citizens. Strangers have remarked, not much to the credit of that flourishing town, that while it has produced many great men, no one has been so fortunate as to procure from its citizens any mark of posthumous respect. We sincerely hope the project may not be deserted, and that such a testimony of respect will soon appear, to a man on whom the city of Aberdeen

may with more propriety bestow such an honour, than on any stranger, however illustrious.

HAMILTON, JAMES, third marquis, and first duke of Hamilton, was born in the palace at Hamilton, on the 19th of June, 1606. His father, James, marquis of Hamilton, was held in high favour by James I., who, amongst other honours which he bestowed on him, created him earl of Cambridge, a title which was at an after period a fatal one to the unfortunate nobleman who is the subject of this memoir.

Before the marquis had attained his fourteenth year, his father, who was then at St James's court, sent for him for the purpose of betrothing him to the lady Margaret Fielding, daughter to the earl of Denbigh, and niece of the duke of Buckingham, and then only in the seventh year of her age. After this ceremony had taken place, the marquis was sent to Oxford, to complete those studies which he had begun in Scotland, but which had been seriously interrupted by his coming to court. He succeeded his father as marquis of Hamilton, March 2, 1625, while as yet considerably under age.

An early and fond intimacy seems to have taken place between prince Charles and the marquis. That it was sincere and abiding on the part of the latter, the whole tenor of his life and his melancholy and tragical death bear testimony. On Charles succeeding to the throne, one of his first cares was to mark the esteem in which he held his young and noble friend, by heaping upon him favours and distinctions.

Soon after the coronation of the king, however, in which ceremony he carried the sword of state in the procession, he returned to Scotland for the purpose of superintending in person his family affairs, which had been much deranged by the munificence of his father. The marquis, who does not seem to have ever been much captivated by the life of a courtier, soon became warmly attached to the quiet and retirement of the country, and spent the greater part of his time at Brodwick castle, a beautiful and romantic residence in the island of Arran.

The king, however, whose attachment to him seems to have gained strength by his absence, wrote to him repeatedly, and with his own hand, in the most pressing terms, to return. All these flattering invitations he for some time resisted, until his father-in-law, the earl of Denbigh, came expressly to Scotland with another earnest request from the king that he would come up to London, and at the same time, offering him the appointment of master of the horse, then vacant by the death of the duke of Buckingham.

Unable longer to resist the entreaties of his sovereign, now seconded by the earl, the marquis complied, and proceeded with his father-in-law to court, where he arrived in the year 1628. The promised appointment was immediately bestowed on him; and in the fullness of his majesty's happiness at his young friend's return, he further made him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and privy councillor in both kingdoms. The amiable and unassuming manners of the marquis saved him at this part of his career from all that hostility and dislike which usually attends the favourite of a sovereign, and he was permitted to receive and enjoy all his offices and honours without a grudge, and without the cost of creating an enemy.

At the baptism of prince Charles in 1630, he represented the king of Bohemia as one of the sponsors, and on this occasion the order of the garter was conferred upon him, together with a grant of the office of chief steward of the house and manor of Hampton court. A more active life, however, was now about to open upon the favourite courtier. King Charles, having in the duke's name entered into a treaty with the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, king

of Sweden, to furnish him with 6000 men for his intended invasion of Germany, with the view of thus enabling his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, to regain his hereditary territories from which he had been driven, the marquis was empowered to raise the stipulated force. These he soon collected, and was on the point of embarking with them himself, when he found that a charge of high treason had been preferred against him by lord Ochiltree, son of that captain James Stewart who had usurped the Hamilton estates and dignities in the time of his grandfather. The king himself was the first to inform the duke of the absurd charge which had been brought against him, and which consisted in the ridiculous assertion, that the marquis intended, in place of proceeding to Germany with the forces he had raised, to employ them in asserting a right to the Scottish crown. Although, in the face of all existing circumstances, it was impossible that any one could be expected to believe that there was any truth in the accusation, yet the marquis insisted that his innocence should be established by a public trial. To this proposal, however, the king not only would not listen, but to show his utter incredulity in the calumny, and his confidence in the marquis's fidelity, he invited him to sleep in the same bed-chamber with him, on the very night on which he had informed him of the charge brought against him by lord Ochiltree. The forgeries of the latter in support of his accusation having been proven, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and thrown into the castle of Blackness, where he remained a captive for twenty years, when he was liberated by one of Cromwell's officers.

On the 16th of July the marquis sailed from Yarmouth roads with his army and forty ships, and arrived in safety at Elsinour on the 27th of the same month. Here he went on shore to wait upon the king of Denmark, and on the 29th sailed again for the Oder, which he reached on the 30th. Here he landed his men, and having previously received a general's commission from the king of Sweden, marched into Silesia, where he performed many important services, took many fortified places, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his bravery and judicious conduct. After various turns of fortune, however, and much severe service, during which his army was reduced by the casualties of war, and by the plague, which swept off great numbers of his men, to two incomplete regiments; and, moreover, conceiving himself slighted by the king of Sweden, who, flushed with his successes, forgot that respect towards him with which he had first received him; he wrote to the king, requesting his advice as to his future proceedings, and not neglecting to express the disgust with which Gustavus's ungracious conduct had inspired him. Charles immediately replied "that if he could not be serviceable to the Palatinate he should take the first civil excuse to come home." This he soon afterwards did, still parting, however, on good terms with the Swedish king, who expressed his esteem for him by saying at his departure, "in whatever part of the world he were, he would ever look upon him as one of his own." There seems to have been a sort of understanding that the marquis would return to Germany with a new levy of men; but this understanding does not appear to have been very seriously entertained by either party; at all events it never took place. The marquis, on his return to the English court was received with unabated kindness, and again took his place amongst the foremost in the esteem of his sovereign.

In 1633, he accompanied the king to Scotland, when he came down to receive the crown of that kingdom; but from this period until the year 1638, he meddled no further with public affairs.

The troubles, however, of that memorable year again brought him on the stage, and his love for his sovereign, and zeal for his service, induced him to take a more busy and a more prominent part than he would otherwise

have done. To put an end, if possible, to the religious distractions in Scotland, and which were then coming to a crisis, the marquis was despatched to Scotland with instructions, and a power to grant further concessions on some important points. The demands of the covenanters were, however, greater than was expected, and this attempt at mediation was unsuccessful. He returned to London, and was a second time sent down to Scotland with enlarged powers, but as these embraced no concession regarding the covenant, this journey was equally fruitless with the other. The marquis now once more returned to London. In the beginning of winter, he was a third time despatched, with instructions to act as commissioner at the General Assembly, which had been appointed to meet for the settlement of differences, and which sat down at Glasgow in November. The concessions, however, which he was authorized to make, were not considered at all sufficient. The opponents of the court in the assembly proceeded from measure to measure inimical to the king's authority, carrying every thing before them in despite of all the marquis's efforts to resist them, and to stem the tide of disaffection. Finding this impossible, he dissolved the court. The covenanters, however, were in no humour to obey this exercise of authority. They continued their sittings, went on subscribing the covenant, and decreed the abrogation of bishops in the Scottish church. Having been able to render the king little more service than the gain of time which his negotiations had secured, the marquis returned to London. Indeed more success could not have been expected from an interference where the covenant, the principal subject of contention, was thus spoken of by the opposite parties: the king writing to his commissioner, "So long as this damnable covenant is in force, I have no more power in Scotland than a duke of Venice;" and the covenanters again replying to some overtures about its renunciation, that "they would sooner renounce their baptism." The king, who had long anticipated a violent issue with the Scottish malcontents, had in the meantime been actively employed in collecting a force to subdue them; and the marquis, soon after his arrival in England, was appointed to a command in this armament, and sent down to Scotland, no longer as a negotiator, but as a chastiser of rebels. Whilst the king himself proceeded over land with an army of 25,000 foot and 3000 horse, the marquis sailed from Yarmouth with a fleet, having on board a further force of 5000 men, and arrived in Leith roads on the 1st of May. On his arrival, he required the leaders of the covenanters to acknowledge the king's authority, and seemed disposed to proceed to hostilities. But the king, in the meantime, having entered into a pacific arrangement with the covenanters, his military command ceased, and he proceeded to join his majesty at his camp near Berwick. Soon after this, the marquis once more retired from public employment, and did not again interfere in national affairs for several years. In 1642, he was once more sent to Edinburgh by the king to promote his interest, and to resume negotiations with the covenanters; and on this occasion was so successful as to alarm Pickering, the agent of the English parliament at Edinburgh, who wrote to his employers, recommending them to bring him immediately to trial as a disturber of the harmony between the two kingdoms. This representation of Pickering's, however, was attended with no immediate result, whatever effect it might have on his ultimate fate; and it is not improbable that it was then recollected to his prejudice. As a reward for his faithful and zealous services, the king now bestowed upon him by patent, dated at Oxford, 12th April, 1643, the title of duke. The same patent invests him also with the title of marquis of Clydesdale, earl of Arran and Cambridge, and lord Avon and Innerdale. By one of those strange and sudden reverses, however, to which the favourites of kings are so subject, the duke was

thrown into prison by that very sovereign who but a short while since had loaded him with titles and honours.

Various misrepresentations of the duke's conduct in Scotland had reached the king's ears. He was charged with unfaithfulness to the trust reposed in him; of speaking disrespectfully of the king; and of still entertaining views upon the Scottish crown. These accusations, absurd, incredible, and contradictory to facts as they were, had been so often repeated, and so urgently pressed on the unfortunate and distracted monarch, that they at length shook his faith in his early friend. Deserted, opposed, and harassed upon all hands, he was prepared to believe in any instance of treachery that might occur, and clinging to every hope, however slender, which presented itself, was too apt to imagine that the accusation of others was a proof of friendship to himself on the part of the accuser.

The king's altered opinion regarding him having reached the ears of the duke, he instantly hastened, accompanied by his brother, the earl of Lanark, who was also involved in the accusation, to Oxford, where his majesty then was. Conscious of his innocence, the duke, on his arrival, sought an audience of the king, that he might, at a personal interview, disabuse him of the unfavourable reports which he had heard regarding him. An order, however, had been left at the gates to stop him until the governor should have notice of his arrival. Through a mistake of the captain of the guard, the carriage which contained the duke was allowed to pass unchallenged, but was immediately followed with a command directly from the king himself, that the duke and his brother should confine themselves to their apartments. This intimation of the king's disposition towards him was soon followed by still more unequivocal indications. Next day a guard was placed on his lodgings, with orders that no one should speak with him but in presence of one of the secretaries; and finally, notwithstanding all his protestations of innocence, and earnest requests to be confronted with his accusers, he was sent a prisoner, first to Exeter, and afterwards to Pendennis castle in Cornwall. His brother, who had also been ordered into confinement in Ludlow castle, contrived to make his escape before his removal, and returned to Scotland; a circumstance which increased the severity with which the duke was treated. His servants were denied access to him, his money was taken from him; and he was refused the use of writing materials, unless to be employed in petitioning the king, a privilege which was still left to him, but which availed him little, as it did not procure him any indulgence in his confinement, or effect any change in the sentiments of the king regarding him. Whilst a prisoner in Pendennis castle, the duke's amiable and gentle manners so far won upon the governor of that fortress, that he not only gave him more liberty than his instructions warranted, but offered to allow him to escape. With a magnanimity, however, but rarely to be met with, the duke refused to avail himself of a kindness which would involve his generous keeper in ruin. The intimacy between the governor and the duke reaching the ears of the court, the latter was instantly removed to the castle of St Michael's Mount at Land's End, where he remained a close prisoner till the month of April, 1646, when he was released, after an unmerited confinement of eight and twenty months, on the surrender of the place to the parliamentary forces. Feeling now that disgust with the world, which the treatment he had met with was so well calculated to inspire, the duke resolved to retire from it for ever. From this resolution, however, his affection for the king, which, notwithstanding the hard usage he had received at his hands, remained as warm and sincere as ever, induced him once more to depart; and when that unhappy monarch, driven from England, sought protection from the Scottish army at Newcastle, the duke of

Hamilton was amongst the first to wait upon him there, with offers of assistance and consolation; and this at a time too, when he was abandoned by many on whom he had much better, or at least, more unqualified claims. When the king and the duke first met on this occasion, both blushed; and the latter in the confusion of the moment, after saluting his majesty, was about to retire into the crowd which filled the apartment, when the king asked him "If he was afraid to come near him." The duke returned, and a long and earnest conversation ensued between them. The king apologised for his treatment of him, and concluded by requesting that he would not now leave him in the midst of his distresses. The appeal was not made in vain. The duke once more embarked with all his former zeal in the cause of his beloved master, and made every effort to retrieve his desperate fortunes. These efforts were vain, but they have secured for him who made them a lasting and an honourable fame; and now that the conflicting opinions of the times in which he lived have long since been numbered with the things that were, we can recognise in the conduct of James, first duke of Hamilton, only a noble example of unshaken and devoted loyalty.

When the question, whether the king, now in the hands of the Scottish malcontents, should be delivered up to his English subjects, was discussed in the Scottish parliament, the duke exerted his utmost influence and power to prevent its being carried in the affirmative. "Would Scotland," he exclaimed, in an elegant and enthusiastic speech which he made on the occasion, "Would Scotland now quit a possession of fifteen hundred years' date, which was their interest in their sovereign, and quit it to those whose enmity against both him and themselves did now so visibly appear? Was this the effect of their protestations of duty and affection to his majesty? Was this their keeping of their covenant, wherein they had sworn to defend the king's majesty, person, and authority? Was this a suitable return to the king's goodness, both in his consenting to all the desires of that kingdom in the year 1641, and in his late trusting his person to them? What censure would be passed upon this through the whole world? What a stain would it be to the whole reformed religion? What danger might be apprehended in consequence of it, both to the king's person and to Scotland from the party that was now prevalent in England." The duke's brother, the earl of Lanark, was not less earnest in his opposition to the disgraceful proposal, and when his vote was asked, he exclaimed with much energy, "As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day, I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the Market-cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote." These generous efforts of the noble brothers, however, as is well known, were unavailing, the measure was carried, and the unfortunate monarch was delivered into the hands of the English parliament.

Defeated in his attempts to prevent the king's being given up to his English subjects; the duke, still hoping to avert the consummation of his unfortunate sovereign's misfortunes, now entertained the idea of relieving him by force of arms. Encouraged in this project by something like a re-action of public feeling in favour of the king, and, sanctioned by the vote of the estates, though not of the kirk of Scotland, he proceeded to raise an army with which he proposed to march into England, where he expected to meet with an active and powerful co-operation from the royalists of that kingdom. With these views, he hastily collected together a force of 10,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, and with this army, which, besides the inadequacy of its numbers, was indifferently appointed, ill disciplined, and unaccompanied by artillery, he marched into England. Passing Carlisle, where he was received with ringing of bells and other demonstrations of welcome, he continued his march by Penrith, Appleby, and Kendal, driving before him detached bodies of Cromwell's troops, and finally

reached Preston on the 17th of August, where he was opposed by Cromwell in person with his veteran battalions; and notwithstanding that the duke had been reinforced since he entered England, by 3000 to 4000 loyalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and afterwards by 2000 foot and 1000 horse, commanded by Sir George Munro; the result of various skirmishes which here took place, was the total defeat of his army. The duke himself, accompanied by a few officers and cavalry, proceeded on to Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, where he surrendered to Lambert, on assurance of personal safety to himself and his followers. The unfortunate duke was now carried to Derby, thence to Ashby-de-la-Zouche, where he remained till December, when he was removed to Windsor, and placed under a strong guard. On the second night of his confinement here, while taking a turn after supper in the court-yard, a sergeant made up to him, and, with the utmost insolence of manner, ordered him to his apartment: the duke obeyed, but remarked to lord Bargeny, who was then a prisoner also, that what had just happened was a singular instance of the mutability of worldly things—that he who, but a short while since, had the command of many thousand men, was now commanded by a common sergeant.

A few days after the duke's arrival at Windsor, his ill-fated master, who was then also a prisoner there, was ordered for trial; having learned when the king was to proceed to the tribunal, the duke prevailed upon his keepers to allow him to see his majesty as he passed. On the approach of the king, he threw himself at his feet, exclaiming in an agony of sorrow, his eyes suffused with tears, "My dear master!" The king, not less affected, stooped down and embraced him, replying, with a melancholy play upon the word *dear*, "I have indeed been so to you." The guards would permit no further conversation, but, by the order of their commander, instantly hurried off the king. The duke followed his beloved master, with his eyes still swimming in tears, so long as he could see him, impressed with the belief that they would never meet on earth again. Aware from the king's execution, which soon after took place, that a similar fate awaited him, the duke, with the assistance of a faithful servant, effected his escape from Windsor. Two horses waited at a convenient place to carry him and his servant to London, where he hoped to conceal himself until an opportunity occurred of getting to a place of greater safety; but he was instructed not on any account to enter the city till seven o'clock in the morning, when the night patrols, who prowled about the town and suburbs, should have retired from duty. By an unaccountable fatality, the unfortunate duke neglected to attend to this most important injunction, and entered the city at four o'clock in the morning. As if every thing had resolved to concur in the destruction of the unfortunate nobleman, besides the risk which he ran as a matter of course from the patrol, it happened that there was a party of horse and foot in Southwark, where the duke entered, searching for Sir Lewis Dives and another gentleman, who had also escaped from confinement the night before. By these the duke was taken while in the act of knocking at a door where he had been long seeking admittance. At first he imposed upon the soldiers by a plausible story, and as they did not know him personally, they were disposed to allow him to depart; but some suspicious circumstances attracting their notice, they searched him, and found in his pockets some papers which at once discovered him. He was now carried to St James's, where he was kept a close prisoner till the 6th February, 1648, when he was brought to trial before the High Court of Justice, and arraigned as earl of Cambridge, for having "traitorously invaded this nation (England) in a hostile manner, and levied war to assist the king against the kingdom and people of England, &c." The duke pled that he was an alien, and that his life besides was secured by the

articles of his capitulation to Lambert. To the first it was replied, that he always sat as a peer of England, and as such had taken the covenant and negative oath. With regard to the second objection, it was affirmed by two witnesses, lords Grey and Lilburn, that he was taken prisoner before the treaty was signed. After a lengthened trial, in which none of his objections availed him, the unfortunate nobleman was sentenced to be beheaded on the 9th of March. The whole tenor of the duke's conduct after sentence of death was passed upon him, evinced the greatest magnanimity and resignation. He wrote to his brother in favour of his servants, and on the morning before his execution, addressed a letter to his children, recommending them to the protection of their heavenly Father, now that they were about to be deprived of himself. He slept soundly on the night previous to his death, until half-past three in the morning, when he was attended by his faithful servant Cole, the person who had assisted him in his attempted escape. To him he now, with the utmost composure, gave a variety of directions to be carried to his brother. The remainder of the morning, up to nine o'clock, he spent in devotion. At this hour he was desired to prepare for the scaffold, which he soon after ascended with a smiling and cheerful countenance, attended by Dr Sibbald. After again spending some time in secret prayer, he arose, and embracing Dr Sibbald, said, laying his hand upon his heart, "I bless God I do not fear—I have an assurance that is grounded here;" he next embraced his servants severally, saying to each of them, "You have been very faithful to me, the Lord bless you."

Turning now to the executioner, he desired to know how he should place himself to receive the fatal stroke. Having been satisfied regarding this fearful particular, he told the executioner, that after he had placed himself in the necessary position, he would say a short prayer, and that he would extend his right hand as the signal for his doing his duty. He now stretched himself along, and placed his neck ready for the blow, prayed a short while with much appearance of fervour, then gave the fatal signal, and with one stroke his head was severed from his body.

The head of the unfortunate nobleman was received in a crimson taffeta scarf, by two of his servants, who knelt beside him for the purpose of performing this last act of duty for their kind master.

The duke's head and body were placed in a coffin which lay ready on the scaffold, and conveyed to a house in the Mews, and afterwards, agreeably to his own directions before his death, conveyed to Scotland, and interred in the family burying ground.

Thus perished James, duke of Hamilton, a nobleman whose fortitude at his death gives but little countenance to the charge of timidity which has been insinuated against him, and whose zeal for, and adherence to, the royal cause, in the most desperate and trying circumstances, affords less encouragement to the accusation of infidelity to his sovereign with which he has been also assailed.

HAMILTON, JAMES, fourth duke of Hamilton, was the eldest son of William, earl of Selkirk, and Anne, duchess of Hamilton. He was born in 1657, educated in Scotland, being by the courtesy of his country entitled earl of Arran, and after spending some time in foreign travel, repaired to the court of England, where he mixed in the gallantries of the time. As it was with a duel that his life closed, so a duel is the first remarkable circumstance to be noticed in the account of his youthful years. In consequence of a quarrel with lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough, he met that nobleman on foot in Greenwich park, with sword and pistol. Arran fired first, and missed; his antagonist discharged his ball in the air, but nevertheless insisted that the combat should proceed. They accordingly engaged with their swords, and Mordaunt having first

received a slight wound about the groin, pierced Arran's thigh, and broke his own sword. The earl had now in turn an opportunity to display his generosity, and sparing the life which was at his mercy: the two young noblemen parted good friends.

Arran enjoyed the favour of Charles II. who made him one of the knights of his bed-chamber, and sent him envoy extraordinary to the court of France, to offer congratulations on the birth of Philip, duke of Anjou, afterwards king of Spain. Whilst upon this embassy, he was one day hunting with the king, and taking offence at some part of the conduct of an ecclesiastical dignitary, who also rode in the company, he disregarded equally the profession of his opponent and the royal presence, and pulling the reverend gentleman from his horse, and grasping his sword, he was prevented from exacting a bloody vengeance only by the interposition of his majesty. The particulars of this affair are not related with that distinctness which would enable us to decide who was in the wrong; but the earl's contemporaries, provided they saw a display of spirit, did not often stop to inquire whether it were borne out by prudence; and accordingly, a writer of the time tells us his lordship came off upon this occasion, in the opinion of the world, "with high commendations of his courage and audacity."

When James II. ascended the throne, the earl of Arran suffered no diminution of court favour. Indeed he seems to have earned it by readily yielding to James's designs. He was one of the privy council who in 1687, signed the letter of the Scottish government, concurring with the proclamation to repeal the laws made against papists. In reward of his acquiescence, he was installed a knight of the thistle, when that order,—which, according to the king's party, was instituted about the year of our Lord 809, by Achaius, king of Scots, and never disused till the intestine troubles, which happened in the reign of Mary,—was "restored to its full lustre, glory, and magnificence." The writers, whose politics were different, maintain that, however honourable this badge might be, it was never worn as such before. Burnet says it was "set up in Scotland in imitation of the order of the garter in England;" and lord Dartmouth adds, that "all the pretence for antiquity is some old pictures of kings of Scotland, with medals of St Andrew hung in gold chains about their necks." Whether old or new, it was conferred as a mark of James's esteem, and in farther proof of his confidence he entrusted the earl of Arran with the command of a regiment of horse, when the new levies took place on the descent of the duke of Monmouth. At a period of greater disaster to James's fortunes, when lord Churchill, afterwards the great Marlborough, went over to the prince of Orange, the duke of Berwick was advanced to the station he had occupied as colonel of the 3d troop of horse guards, and in the room of his grace, Arran was made colonel of Oxford's regiment. From the course which events took, however, the earl had no opportunity of signalizing his bravery in the cause of his master; but he carried his fidelity as far as any man in the kingdom, having been one of the four lords who accompanied James to Gravesend, when the fallen monarch repaired thither on his way into foreign exile. Returning to London, Arran complied with the general example, and waited on the prince of Orange; being one of the last that came, he offered an excuse which partook more of the bluntness of the soldier than of political or courtlike dexterity: "If the king had not withdrawn out of the country," he said, "he should not have come at all." The next day the prince intimated to him that he had bestowed his regiment upon its old colonel, the earl of Oxford.

Nor was Arran solicitous to appease by subsequent compliance the displeasure incurred in his first interview with the prince. On the 7th January, William

assembled the Scottish nobles and gentlemen then in London, and told them that he wanted their advice "what was to be done for securing the protestant religion, and restoring their laws and liberties, according to his declaration." His highness withdrew after making this request, and the duke of Hamilton¹ was chosen to preside. The politics of his grace were quite different from those of his son; and the fact of his being selected to preside over their deliberations was an intimation of the course which the assembly intended to pursue. But Arran either did not perceive, or did not regard this circumstance; he proposed, that as the prince had desired their advice, they should move him to invite the king to return, and call a free parliament, "which, in my humble opinion," he added, "will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches." Nobody seconded this proposal; but it seems to have astounded the deliberators a good deal: they dispersed, and did not re-assemble till the second day after, when their resolution to stand by the prince of Orange and to exclude the exiled James, having been strengthened by some remarks from the duke of Hamilton, they recommended the measures which the emergency seemed to them to require.

A short time after the settlement of the throne upon William and Mary, as the earl of Arran was passing along the streets in a chair, about eleven at night, he was set upon by four or five people with drawn swords. He defended himself courageously, and being vigorously seconded by his footman and chairmen, came off with only a few slight hurts in the hand. This incident was charged against the new monarch, as if he had sought to rid himself by assassination of one who had so very coolly, if not resolutely, opposed his reception in England. But there was neither any disposition nor any necessity for resorting to such means for weakening the ranks of the adherents of James. The attack upon the earl is believed to have proceeded from another cause; namely, the involvement of his lordship's pecuniary affairs, and to have been the act of an exasperated creditor. The earl, however, certainly was obnoxious to government at this period. He was shortly after committed to the Tower, with Sir Robert Hamilton and two others of his countrymen; but was soon liberated upon bail; upon which he judged it prudent, both on account of the suspicion to which his political opinions exposed him, and of embarrassments in his private fortune, to retire to Scotland. There his father enjoyed the full confidence of government; his services in the convention of the states, of which he was president, having mainly contributed to the settlement of the crown upon William. Here Arran lived in retirement, the progress of affairs and the paternal authority tending to reconcile him to the revolution. At his father's death in 1695, the earl of Arran was not advanced in rank and not very much in fortune. The title of duke had been conferred upon its late possessor to be held during his lifetime, by consent of the heiress, whom he had married; and at his death it remained with her, together with the bulk of the estate. It was not till the marriage of Arran in 1698, with lord Gerrard of Bromley's daughter, that his mother consented that her eldest son should assume the honours of the family. Upon this William, willing to gratify the family, signed a patent, creating him duke of Hamilton, with precedency in the same manner as if he had succeeded to the title by the decease of his mother.

The events hitherto recorded in this nobleman's life were not of great moment: he was a young man, acting in a great measure from personal bias, and his opinions had little weight or influence beyond the sphere of the private friends with whom he associated. We now approach a period when his conduct in the legislative assembly of his country, determined more than that of any other

¹ The earl of Selkirk bore this title in right of marriage to the duchess.

of its members the fate of the two most momentous political measures that ever were debated in it—the act of security and the act of union. The events of William's reign had been highly exasperating to the Scottish nation. Not only had commercial enterprise been repressed, but this had been done in the most base and most cruel manner. The same monarch who sanctioned the massacre of Glencoe, first granted a charter to the Darien company, and then exerted his influence with foreign nations in order to withhold from their colony the necessary supplies, and sent instructions to the governor of the English colonies to the same effect. Many perished of famine, "murdered," says Sir Walter Scott, "by king William's government, no less than if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe." The spirit of an ancient people, never tolerant of contumely, far less of cruelties so atrocious as these, did not burst out into immediate and open defiance of their more powerful neighbour, but reserved itself for a period more favourable for the vindication of its insulted rights. During the rest of his life, William could draw no subsidies from Scotland, nor a single recruit for his continental wars. The instability of a new reign afforded a fitting opportunity for the assertion of independence. An act had been passed in the time of king William, empowering the parliament in being at his death to continue, and take the steps necessary for securing the protestant succession. In virtue of this act queen Anne thought proper not to call a new parliament; but a party, at the head of whom was the duke of Hamilton, maintained that the purposes contemplated by that provision were sufficiently satisfied by the settlement of her majesty on the throne. Accordingly, before the royal commission was read, the duke took a protest against it, and retiring with twenty-nine who adhered to him, their retreat was greeted with shouts of applause by the people assembled without. This proceeding may be considered the germ of that opposition which ripened in the two following years into the formidable act of security.

The parliament of 1703, instead of proceeding in conformity with the wishes of government, to settle the crown of Scotland on the same person for whom that of England was destined, resolved that this was the time to obtain an equality of commercial privileges, and to rescue the country from the state of a degraded and oppressed province of England. They accordingly passed an act stipulating that the two crowns should not be held by the same monarch, unless the Scottish people were admitted by the English to the full benefit of trade and navigation: to make good the separation of the countries if it should be necessary, every man capable of bearing arms was to be regularly drilled, and all commissions, civil and military, were to lose effect at the moment of the queen's demise, in order that the states of Scotland might then appoint an entirely new set of magistrates and officers, faithful maintainers of the independence of the kingdom. The duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Tweeddale headed the country party, by whom this measure was passed. It was debated with the utmost fierceness by the speakers on both sides, with their hands on their swords. The queen's commissioner refused his assent, and was obliged to dismiss the assembly without obtaining supplies, every demand of that kind being answered with shouts of "Liberty before subsidy!"

At this time the duke was involved in the accusations of Fraser of Lovat, who detailed to the government a plot, in which he alleged that he had engaged several Scottish noblemen for the restoration of the son of James II. The parliament of England took up the matter, and passed a resolution, declaring that a dangerous conspiracy had been formed in Scotland to overthrow the protestant succession. Hamilton, and the others named with him, defended themselves by maintaining that the whole affair was nothing but a malicious attempt of the

court, in consequence of the decided part they had taken in behalf of their country's rights, to destroy their reputation, and weaken the patriotic party to which they belonged. Their countrymen were in no mood to take part against them : on the contrary, they considered the vote of the English legislature as a fresh encroachment upon their liberties, another unwarrantable interference with matters beyond their jurisdiction. When the states met in 1704, therefore, there was no alteration in their tone—the act of security was insisted upon with the same determination ; and it was now wisely acceded to.

Scotland was thus legally disjoined from England, and the military preparations, provided for in the act of security, were immediately commenced. This measure, however threatening it might appear, produced ultimately the most beneficial effects, having had the effect of rousing the English government to the danger of a rupture with Scotland. Should that nation make choice of a separate sovereign, it was likely to be one who had claims to the throne of England ; and thus not only might the old hostilities between the two countries be rekindled, not only might a Scottish alliance be resorted to by foreign courts, to strengthen them in their designs against England, but the prince who held his court at Edinburgh, would have numerous adherents in the southern part of the island, as well as in Ireland, by whose assistance long and harassing wars might be maintained, with too probable a chance of the ultimate establishment of the exiled family on the British throne.

The prospect of dangers such as these induced the English government to devote all their influence to the formation of a treaty, by which the two countries might be incorporated, and all causes of dissension, at least in a national point of view, removed. During the discussion of this measure, the details of which proved extremely unsatisfactory to the Scottish people, they looked up to the duke of Hamilton as the political leader on whom the fate of the country entirely depended. That nobleman seems in his heart to have been hostile to the union. In the earlier stages of the proceedings, he displayed considerable firmness in his opposition, and out of doors he was greeted with the most enthusiastic plaudits. The duke of Queensberry, who acted as royal commissioner, had his lodging in Holyrood house ; so had the duke of Hamilton. The queen's representative could only pass to his coach through lanes of armed soldiery, and hurried home amidst volleys of stones and roars of execration ; while the popular favourite was attended all the way from the Parliament Close by crowds, who encouraged him with loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. A plan was devised, with the duke's consent, for interrupting the progress of this odious treaty, by a general insurrection. But when the agents had arranged matters for the rising of the Cameronians in the west country, either doubting the practicability of the scheme, or reluctant to involve the country in civil war, he despatched messengers to countermand the rising, and was so far successful, that only an inconsiderable number repaired to the place of rendezvous. It was next resolved that a remonstrance should be presented by the nobles, barons, and gentry hostile to the union ; and about four hundred of them assembled in Edinburgh, for the purpose of waiting upon the lord commissioner, with this expression of the national opinion. The address was drawn up with the understanding that it should be presented by the duke of Hamilton ; but that nobleman again thwarted the measures of his party by refusing to appear, unless a clause were inserted in the address, expressive of the willingness of the subscribers to settle the crown on the house of Hanover. To this proposal the Jacobites, who formed a large portion of the opponents of the union, would not listen for a moment ; and while discussions and disputes were protracted between the dukes of Athol and Hamilton, the gentlemen who had at-

tended their summons to swell the ranks of the remonstrants, dispersed to their homes, chagrined and disappointed.

Hamilton next assembled the leaders of the opposition, recommended that they should forget former jarrings, and endeavour to repair previous mismanagement by a vigorous and united effort for the defeat of the obnoxious treaty. He proposed that a motion formerly made for settling the succession in the house of Hanover should be renewed, in conjunction with a proposal fatal to the union; and that, on its being rejected, as it was sure to be in such circumstances, a strong protest should be taken, and the whole of their party should publicly secede from parliament. The consequence of this step, he argued, must be, that the government would abandon further proceedings, as they could not pretend to carry through a measure of such importance with a mere handful of the national representatives, whose opinions were so conspicuously at variance with the wishes of the great mass of the people. The Jacobites objected to the preliminary motion, but the duke overcame their scruples by representing, that as it must necessarily be rejected, it could not entangle them in any obligation inconsistent with their principles. Finally, he assured them, that if this plan failed of its effect, and the English should still press on the union, he would join them to recall the son of James II. The purpose of the anti-unionists having come to the knowledge of the duke of Queensberry, he sought an interview, it is said, with the leader of the popular party, and assured him that if the measure miscarried, his grace should be held accountable for its failure, and be made to suffer for it in his English estates. Whether intimidated by this threat, or that his own understanding did not approve of the course which his feelings prompted, Hamilton was the first to fail in the performance of the scheme which he had taken so much pains to persuade his coadjutors to consent to. "On the morning appointed for the execution of their plan," says Sir Walter Scott, "when the members of opposition had mustered all their forces, and were about to go to parliament, attended by great numbers of gentlemen and citizens, prepared to assist them if there should be an attempt to arrest any of their number, they learned that the duke of Hamilton was so much afflicted with the toothach that he could not attend the house that morning. His friends hastened to his chambers, and remonstrated with him so bitterly on this conduct, that he at length came down to the house; but it was only to astonish them by asking whom they had pitched upon to present their protestation. They answered, with extreme surprise, that they had reckoned on his grace, as the person of the first rank in Scotland, taking the lead in the measure which he had himself proposed. The duke persisted, however, in refusing to expose himself to the displeasure of the court, by being foremost in breaking their favourite measure, but offered to second any one whom the party might appoint to offer the protest. During this altercation, the business of the day was so far advanced, that the vote was put and carried on the disputed article respecting the representation, and the opportunity of carrying the scheme into effect was totally lost. The members who had hitherto opposed the union, being thus three times disappointed in their measures by the unexpected conduct of the duke of Hamilton, now felt themselves deserted and betrayed. Shortly afterwards most of them retired altogether from their attendance on parliament, and those who favoured the treaty were suffered to proceed in their own way, little encumbered either by remonstrance or opposition."

Such is the story of the duke of Hamilton's share in these two great measures. It presents a curious view of perseverance and firmness of purpose at one time, and of the utmost instability at another in the same person, both concurring to produce a great and important change in the feelings and interests of two na-

tions powerful in old times from their hardihood and valour, rendered more powerful in later times by the union of these qualities with intelligence and enlightened enterprise. The conspicuous and decided manner in which the duke of Hamilton stood forward, as the advocate of the act of security, carried it through a stormy opposition, and placed the kingdom in a state of declared but legalized defiance of England; while the unsteadiness of his opposition to the union paved the way for the reconciliation of the two nations. Had the Scottish people never asserted their independence with that determination which forced the English government to sanction the act of security—had the duke's resolution failed him here, the terms of equality subsequently offered by England would not have been granted:—had the states persevered in the same intractable spirit when the union was proposed to them—had the duke manifested any portion of his former firmness, the mutual interests of England and Scotland might have been barred, the two kindred people might have been thrown back into interminable hostilities, and the glory and happiness which Great Britain has attained might never have been known.

Though the consequences of the union have been so beneficial to Scotland, yet the treaty was urged forward by means which no friend of his country could approve. The body of the nation regarded it as disgraceful and ruinous; its supporters were purchased with bribes—one nobleman sold himself for the miserable sum of eleven pounds sterling; and its opponents were awed to silence by threats. No wonder that men of honourable minds were fired with indignation, and many of them prepared to resort to desperate measures to wipe away the national disgrace. The opportunity seemed favourable for a movement among the Jacobites, and an agent from France engaged a number of the nobles to join the chevalier if he should land on the Scottish shores. Among these was the duke of Hamilton, who, although pressed to declare himself prematurely, adhered to the letter of his agreement, and by his prudence saved his large estates from confiscation. Whilst the French ships were on the seas, with the design of an invasion, his grace was taken into custody as a disaffected person, but suffered a very short restraint. This did not prevent his being named among the sixteen Scottish peers who took their place in the first British parliament, in which he attached himself to the tory party, and "stickled as much," to use the words of a biographer of that period, "for Dr Sacheverell and the high church interest, as he had done about three years before for the security of the Scottish kirk." The whigs losing their influence in the councils of queen Anne, the opposite party began to be received into favour; and in June, 1711, Hamilton was created duke of Brandon. He was at that time one of the representatives of the Scottish nobility, but claimed to take his seat as a British peer. In this he was vehemently opposed, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the admission of Queensberry in virtue of the title of duke of Dover. After a long debate, in which a motion to take the opinion of the judges was rejected, it was decided, that since the union no Scottish peer could take his place in the British parliament in any other character than as one of the sixteen representatives. This decision so highly incensed the Scottish lords that they seceded from the house: they were appeased and prevailed on to return, but the point was not conceded at that time, although the queen interested herself in behalf of the duke of Hamilton. Nor was it till so late as the year 1782, when his descendant again preferred his claim, that, the judges having given an unanimous opinion in his favour, the eligibility of Scottish noblemen to the full privileges of peers of Great Britain was established.

The duke had married, to his second wife, Anne, daughter of lord Digby Gerrard, by Elizabeth sister to the earl of Marblesfield. Lady Gerrard was left

by her husband's will guardian to her daughter, whose fortune amounted to about £60,000; and while the duke courted her, he offered to content himself with that dowry, and bound himself in a bond of £10,000 to give her mother a relief of her guardianship two days after the marriage. This engagement, however, he not only declined to perform, but sought relief of his bond in chancery, which was so highly resented by lady Gerrard that she left all she had to her brother, and bequeathed to her child a legacy of five shillings, and a diamond necklace in case the duke should consent to give the release in question. This his grace persisted in withholding, and the earl of Macclesfield settled his estate, to the prejudice of the duchess of Hamilton, on another niece who had married the lord Mohun. The lawsuit to compel that nobleman, as executor of lady Gerrard, to give an account of his guardianship, was continued; and the feelings of the two parties were mutually much embittered in the course of the proceedings. Mohun was a man of violent temper, and in his youth accustomed himself to the most depraved society. When he was about twenty years of age, one of his companions murdered Mountford, a comedian in Drury Lane; and, the principal having absconded, Mohun was tried by the house of peers. Fourteen voices pronounced him guilty, but sixty-nine cleared him. So far, however, was the shameful situation in which he had been placed from reclaiming him, that he plunged again into the same courses, and seven years after was arraigned at the same bar on a similar accusation. This time, indeed, it was proved that his lordship had no participation in the crime, but had used some endeavours to prevent it. Thereafter he abstained, indeed, from dissolute and lawless brawls, but he carried into the pursuits of politics no small share of the heat which marked his early career. "It is true," says a contemporary writer, who seems to have been willing to excuse his faults, "he still loved a glass of wine with his friends; but he was exemplarily temperate when he had any business of moment to attend." His quarrelsome disposition was notorious, and the duke's friends had been long apprehensive that a collision would take place, and repeatedly warned his grace to be on his guard. On the 11th of November, the two noblemen had a meeting at the chambers of Mr Orlebar, a master in chancery, in relation to the lawsuit, when every thing passed off quietly. Two days after, on the examination of a person of the name of Whitworth, who had been a steward to lady Gerrard, the duke was so provoked by the substance of his deposition, as openly to declare, "He had neither truth nor justice in him." To this lord Mohun rejoined, "He had as much truth as his grace." No further recrimination passed; another meeting was arranged for the Saturday following, and the duke, on retiring, made a low bow to Mohun, who returned it. There were eleven persons present, and none of them suspected any ill consequence from what had just taken place. His lordship, however, immediately sent a challenge to the duke, which was accepted. On the 15th of November, 1713, the day that had been fixed for a resumption of their amicable conference, they repaired to the Ring in Hyde Park, and, being both greatly exasperated, they fought with peculiar determination and ferocity. This is attested by the number and deadliness of the wounds on both sides. Lord Mohun fell and died on the spot. He had one wound mortal, but not immediately so, entering by the right side, penetrating through the belly, and going out by the iliac bone on the left side. Another dreadful gash, in which the surgeon's hands met from opposite sides, ran from the groin on the left side down through the great vessels of the thigh. This was the cause of immediate death. There were some slighter incisions, and two or three fingers of the left hand were cut off. The duke's body suffered an equal havoc, partly inflicted, it was alleged, by foul play. A cut in the elbow of the sword-arm severed the small tendons, and occasioned so much

loss of blood as to be fatal. A wound in the left breast, between the third and fourth upper ribs, pierced downwards through the midriff and caul, sufficient to produce death, but not immediately. He had also a dangerous slash in the right leg. It is believed that the duke, after his right arm was disabled, being ambidexter, shifted his weapon, and killed Mohun with his left hand. The wound in his own breast was the last that was inflicted, and colonel Hamilton gave his oath that it was the sword of general Macartney, Mohun's second, which dealt it. So strong was the presumption of the truth of this, that the general absconded, and when brought to trial in the ensuing reign, the evidence upon which he was acquitted still left the matter doubtful.

The death of two men of rank in so bloody a rencounter, was in itself enough to produce a strong feeling of horror in the public mind. The unfair play by which it was believed one of them had been sacrificed, filled every honourable bosom with indignation; and the agitation was increased by reports that the duke had fallen a victim to assassination instigated by political hatred. Immediately before the duel took place, he had been named ambassador extraordinary to Paris, with powers to effect an arrangement for the restoration of the exiled family on the death of the queen; and the party who were desirous of such a consummation, openly alleged that his death had been conspired by the whigs with a view to prevent it. This does not appear to have been the case, however true it may be that Mohun was a zealot in politics, and disreputable in his private character.¹ The duke's body was conveyed to Scotland for burial. The deplorable death of so amiable a nobleman spread a very general regret; a bill to prevent duelling was in consequence introduced into the house of commons, but it was dropt after the first reading.

HAMILTON, JOHN, a secular priest, made himself remarkable in the 16th century by his furious zeal in behalf of the church of Rome; leaving all the Scottish ecclesiastics of that period far behind by the boldness and energy with which he defended the tenets of the Romish church, and assailed those of the reformed religion. There is nothing known of the earlier part of his life, but

¹ The following curious anecdote respecting the fifth duke of Hamilton, son of the above, occurs in a manuscript account of the ducal family, in the possession of Mr Chancellor of Shieldhill:—

“Upon the 31st of October, 1726, he was, at the palace of Holyroodhouse, installed knight of the most noble order of the thistle, by James, earl of Findlater and Seafield, appointed for that effect representative of king George I.

“The regalia, now after the union, being locked up in the castle, they wanted the sword of state for that purpose, and, as the storie went, they had recourse to the earle of Rothes's, which was not only gifted by general M^cKertney to him, but the same with which he should have so basely stabbed the duke his father. And the guards, who drew up about the earle of Findlater, as king's commissioner, chanced also to be the Scots Fuzieliers, then under the command of the said M^cKertney; which occasioned the following verses:—

“Ye sons of old Scotland, come hither and look
On Rothes's sword, that knighted the duke.
Dispell all your thoughts, your cares, and your fears,
Being noble guarded by your own fuzieliers.

Yet

The peers and the heraulds were in a strange bustle,
How they could install a knight of the thistle;
For, wanting the sword and honours of state,
What shame could they get to lay on his pate!

Some voted a cane, and others a mace,
But true-hearted Seafield spoke thus to his grace:
My lord, upon honour, the regalia are fled,
Which were basely sold off by me and your dade,—
But — here's Rothes's sword—so down on your knee!
Now, rise up a *knight* and a *knave* lyke me.”

there is some ground for believing that his violence and activity rendered him obnoxious to the Scottish government, and that he was in consequence compelled to leave the kingdom. Whatever may have been the cause of his departure from Scotland, he established himself at Paris in the year 1573. Here he applied to the study of theology, and with such success, that he was soon afterwards appointed professor of philosophy in the royal college of Navarre.

In 1576, he became tutor to the cardinal de Bourbon, and in 1578, to Francis de. Jayeuse, afterwards promoted to a similar dignity. Besides these there were many other young persons of quality entrusted to him in consequence of the high opinion entertained of his talents and learning. In 1581, still burning with zeal, he published a work entitled "*Ane Catholick and Facile Traictaise drawin out of the halie Scriptures, treulie exponit be the ancient doctrines to confirm the reall and corporell praesence of Christis pretious bodie and blude in the Sacrament of the altar.*" This work he dedicated to "His soverane Marie, the Quenis Majestie of Scotland." To this book were appended twenty-four Orthodox and Catholic Conclusions, dedicated to James VI., whom, by the aid of some reasoning of his own, he termed king of Scotland. These "Conclusions" he prefaced with equal prolixity as the work itself, but more characteristically — "testimonies for antiquitie of religion and succession of pastors in the catholick kirk, and certane questionis to the quhillkis we desire the ministers mak resolute answer at their next generall assemblee, and send the same imprentit to us with diligence, utherwise we protest that their pretendit religion is altogidder antichristian and repugnant to God and his halie kirk." What fortune attended this bold challenge does not appear, but his own in the meantime, was steadily advancing. In 1584, he was chosen rector of the university of Paris, and in 1585, while yet a licentiate in theology, he was elected to the cure of St Cosmus and Damian by that part of the students of the university of Paris called the German nation. His election on this occasion was disputed, but finally confirmed by a decree of parliament.

Still amongst the foremost and most violent in all religious discords, Hamilton became a furious zealot for the Catholic League of 1566, which it is well known had for its object the extermination of protestants, without regard to the means, and figured during that celebrated era under the title of *Curé de S. Cosine*. In the same spirit he again distinguished himself when Henry IV. of France besieged Paris in the year 1590.

On that occasion he mustered the Parisian ecclesiastics, drew them up in battle array, and led them on against the forces of the heretics under Henry, making them halt occasionally to sing hymns as they advanced. As the king of France was compelled to abandon the blockade of Paris before he finally carried the city, by the duke of Parma, who, despatched by Philip, king of Spain, now arrived with an army to assist the leaguers who defended it, Hamilton not only escaped the fate which would certainly have awaited him, had Henry succeeded in the siege, but became more active and turbulent than ever, and soon after was one of the celebrated "*council de Seize quartier*," who took upon them, with an effrontery which has no parallel in history, to dispose of the crown of France; and actually went the length of offering it to Philip II. of Spain, to be bestowed on whomsoever he thought fit. Of all the bigoted and merciless fanatics who composed the fraternity of the "*Seize*," Hamilton was the most bigoted and relentless; and when those wretches had resolved on the murder of Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, together with L'Archer, and Tardif, two obnoxious councillors, it was Hamilton who arrested the latter, and dragged him from a sick bed to the scaffold; and although the duke of Mayenne came immediately to Paris on hearing of these atrocities, and hanged

four of the ring-leaders of the infamous fraternity by which they had been perpetrated, yet Hamilton by some means or other contrived to escape sharing in their punishment. In 1594, his unextinguishable zeal again placed him in an extraordinary and conspicuous position. On the day on which Henry IV. entered Paris, after embracing the catholic religion, and while *Te Deum* was celebrating for the restoration of peace and good government, Hamilton, with some of his frantic associates, flew to arms, with the desperate design of still expelling the king, in whose conversion they had no faith. The attempt, however, as might have been expected, was a total failure, and Hamilton was taken into custody, but was afterwards allowed to leave France without farther punishment. The parliament, however, some time after his departure, sentenced him to be broken on the wheel for the murder of Tardif, and as he was not then forthcoming in person, ordered that their decree should be carried into execution on his effigy. Hamilton in the meantime had retired to the Low Countries, and was now residing at Brussels, under the Spanish government.

In 1600, he published another work on religious matters, entitled "A Catalogue of one hundred and sixty-seven heresies, lies, and calumnies, teachit and practisit be the ministers of Calvin's sect, and corruptions of twenty-three passages of the Scripture be the ministeris adulterate translations thereof." This work he dedicated to the Scottish king. In 1601, Hamilton returned to his native country, after an absence of above thirty years. He was there joined by one Edmond Hay, an eminent Jesuit, equally turbulent and factious with himself. The arrival of these two dangerous men, whose characters were well known, especially that of Hamilton, having reached the ears of the king, he immediately issued a proclamation, enjoining their instant departure from the kingdom under pain of treason, and declared all guilty of the like crime who harboured them.

Notwithstanding this edict, Hamilton contrived to find shelter in the north, and to elude for some time the vigilance of the government. Amongst others who contravened the king's proclamation on this occasion was the lord Ogilvie, who afforded him a temporary residence at his house of Airly. At length the Scottish privy council, determined to have possession of so dangerous a person, despatched a party of life-guards to apprehend him. When found and desired to surrender, this indomitable and factious spirit, who had bearded the king of France in his might, treated the orders of a Scottish privy council with contempt, and endeavoured to resist them, but in vain. His life, however, was afterwards spared by the king, who, by a very slight stretch of certain laws then existing, might have deprived him of it. This clemency is said to have arisen from James's regard for Hamilton's nephew, then Sir Thomas Hamilton, afterwards earl of Haddington. The former, after his capture, spent the remainder of his days in the Tower, where he was sent at once for his own safety and that of the kingdom.

Amongst other peculiarities of Hamilton, it is recorded that he entertained a strong aversion to the introduction of English words into the Scottish language, a practice which was then becoming fashionable; and in the abuse which he was constantly heaping on the protestant preachers, he frequently charges them with "Knapping Suddrone," (aiming at English,) and still greater enormity with having it "imprentit at London in contempt of our native language;" and in proof at once of his abhorrence of all innovation in this particular, and of his partiality for the native unadulterated language of his own country, he always wrote in a style somewhat more uncouth than was warranted by the period in which he lived.

HAMILTON, JOHN, archbishop of St Andrews, and the last Scottish primate of the Roman catholic faith, was the natural son of James, earl of Arran, by a gentlewoman of Ayrshire. No nearer approximation seems to have been made to the period of his birth, than that it must have happened some time during the reign of James V. The early education of a person so situated is not likely to have attracted much attention, and we may, with a pretty equal chance of arriving at the truth, either receive or reject the statement of M'Kenzie,¹ made with the laudable desire of biographers, to afford complete and minute information, that he studied the belles lettres and philosophy at Glasgow, and theology in France, where he entered into holy orders. It is, however, sufficiently ascertained, that he returned in the year 1543, from some residence or journey in France, and found himself abbot of Paisley, a situation within the limits of the extensive church patronage of his father, to which the son was nominated in 1541.¹ The circumstance of his journey through England in his return from France introduced this ambitious man to the commencement of his restless career. He was graciously received by Henry VIII., and either in duplicity, or ignorance of the scene of action about to open to him, he entered into the views of the English monarch with regard to a matrimonial alliance with Scotland, which he was afterwards to use his best endeavours to frustrate. On his arrival in Scotland he found the path of distinction just opened to his view, by the recent advancement of his vacillating brother to the regency of the kingdom, and may have conceived those high projects which the weakness of his unhappy relative fostered, while it interfered with their consummation. He joined cardinal Beaton in that opposition which the primate's fears for the safety of the church prompted him to exhibit towards the matrimonial alliance with England, and the enemies of Hamilton have not been backward in attributing to him an unhesitating application to the most ungenerous and infamous means for the achievement of his ends, throughout the heart-burning and unfortunate progress of that renowned conference. The change produced in the regent's policy by the persuasion of the abbot, and the something more than persuasion of the cardinal, assisted by the insults of the English monarch, is well known, with all its calamitous consequences. The perseverance of Hamilton was rewarded by the offices of privy seal, and of high treasurer, in which latter he succeeded Kirkaldy of Grange. In 1545, he was further rewarded by the wealthy bishopric of Dunkeld. With much modesty he wished to retain, after his elevation, both the dignity and emolument of his abbacy, but was prompted to resign them on his brother James being nominated his successor, with the moderate reservation of the fruits of the benefice during his lifetime, and the power to re-enter, in the event of surviving his brother. On the death of

¹ M'Kenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, iii. 102.—The accurate authors of the *History of the Senators of the College of Justice*, have referred this presentation to so early a period as 1525. These authors are usually extremely minute in their references, but here the authority is omitted. We presume it to be that of Crawford, who in his *Officers of State* refers the event to the same period. The latter is certainly the more veracious authority of the two, yet, admitting that we have not undergone the labour of an investigation among the original records which might clear up so wide a divergence, we are inclined in this instance to believe the dictum of M'Kenzie. The authors of the late work alluded to falsify the statement of M'Kenzie, that Hamilton was on the continent for some years previously to 1543, by a reference to the records of parliament, in which the abbot of Paisley is mentioned in two sederunts, that of 1534, and that of 1540. If Hamilton was not appointed till 1541, this must have been the previous abbot. If he was appointed in 1545, we can only accede to M'Kenzie's statement of his absence on the continent, on the supposition that he had taken advantage of the act 3d. James I. chap. 52, which entitled prelates, earls, &c. to appear by their procurators, on producing proof of a necessary cause of absence—a privilege which, if it was ever taken advantage of, fell soon after into disuse.

cardinal Beaton, Hamilton was translated to the archbishopric of St Andrews. Unmindful of the fate of his predecessor, he commenced his inauspicious career with blood. A man of the name of Adam Wallace, was tried before him in a synod, in the Blackfriars' church of Edinburgh, and being found guilty of acting as a yagrant preacher, baptizing his own children, and of inability to discover the term "mass" in the Holy Scriptures, he was delivered over to the civil judge, and burnt at the stake. But the archbishop was not one of those who welcomed the rising strength of the Reformation with fire and sword. He was a strong thinking and acute man, with a mind conversant in the weaknesses and prejudices of men, and well adapted to hold the balance firmly and cautiously between contending parties. He was not of those spirits framed to be the scourges of the earth, but fate had cast him in evil days on an unhappy land, where men were not accustomed to scruple at the measures by which they gratified their passions or prejudices, and the minds formed in more peaceful times for the best things, burst the regulating power, which might have restrained them in a period of less temptation.

Hamilton saw the coming enemy, and the moderation and firmness with which he defended the church, protracted for a short period the fall of the crumbling fabric. He used his utmost endeavours to put to rest a fiery controversy, which inflamed his district, on the subject of addressing the Lord's prayer to the saints; a heterodox English priest having maintained that it should be addressed to the Deity alone, while an orthodox friar of St Andrews proved, by a syllogistic examination of each department of the prayer, that there were good reasons why it ought to be addressed to the saints, because there were no references in it which would not apply to their situation, excepting towards the end, where requests were made which it was entirely beyond the power of saints to grant, and in which their intercession only should be presumed to be requested. Out of the discussions on this matter, arose disputes on the exact mental value of the appeal to the saints, some maintaining it to be made to the saints *materialiter*, while it was made to the Deity *formaliter*—others, that while it was addressed to the Deity *principaliter*, it came before the saints *minus principaliter*: and the grades of distinction being too numerous for the consideration of the primate, who was never a casuist without having some purpose in view, he remitted them to a provincial synod, which duly attended to the interest of the saints. At this synod the archbishop performed one of those prudent acts of reconciliation, by which he sought to avert the fall of his order. He had prepared a catechism containing an exposition in English of the commandments, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, which was formally approved of by the synod, and ordered to be read to the people on Sundays and holidays, by the curates of the respective churches, and which was afterwards circulated through the country at such a small price as might remunerate the hawkers by whom it was vended. In the year 1551, the days of this ambitious priest appeared to be nearly ended by a stubborn asthmatic complaint, which defied the skill of the Scottish physicians, who pronounced his recovery as hopeless. The celebrated Cardan was induced, by a magnificent remuneration, to visit him, and the disease yielded either to the medicines of the empiric or to nature. M'Kenzie has taken much pains to prove that, in calling for the assistance of this singular individual, the primate did not appeal to the powers of magic, as Buchanan and others have accused him of having done; but it is much to be doubted whether, from the character of both parties, the patient did not suppose he was receiving, and the physician that he was administering, the aid of unholy powers. The influence of Hamilton's mind over that of his brother, is shown by the advantage taken of his sick-

ness. The queen mother seized the opportunity which her own ambitious views, and the instigations of her family had prepared her to use, and extracted from the feeble regent a resignation of his authority into her own hands. The archbishop on his recovery felt the indignation natural to a fierce and ambitious spirit, compelled by his situation to depend on a person whose facile mind required to be kept at its purpose by the firmness of his own. According to Sir James Melville, the convalescent priest received the intelligence with a burst of rage; "he cursed, and cried out that the governor was a very beast for quitting the government to her," bestowing an epithet not very decorous on the princess who stood between his brother and the throne. But Sir James Melville mentions the intelligence as having been received by him when abroad, and from the information of captain Ninian Cockburn, "a busy meddler,"—and however certainly we may judge of the ambitious prospects of the archbishop, it is not likely that he would have uttered them in a situation which would have admitted their being reported to such a person. The effect of his recovery is a farther evidence of his powerful mind. The resignation not duly and formally completed was revoked, and with all the advantage of possessing the dignity, the powerful princess was compelled to submit for a time. After a protracted conference, the queen mother, aided by the influence of those whom her polished manners had secured, and of the protestant party in general, whom she affected to protect, seconded by the will of her daughter, no longer an infant, obtained her end; but the advantages stipulated for by the archbishop on the part of his brother, were the same as those which had been held out to him as a bait at the commencement of the contract, acknowledging, as a principal article, the ex-regent's right of succession, failing the young queen, which seems to have presented to the archbishop golden views of ambition which it were difficult to fathom. Hitherto the primacy of Hamilton had been marked by but one act of persecution, with which he was but indirectly connected; but just after the period of the last incident described, he appalled the nation by the perpetration of an act, for which neither religious bigotry, opposition to the regent, nor the alleged influence of the abbot of Kilwinning, are sufficient satisfactorily to account, in a man who knew so well the advantage of moderate counsels. Walter Mill, an aged protestant minister, was tried at St Andrews, before the archbishop, found guilty of heresy, and condemned to death by the flames. Men looked with such deep horror on the act, that an individual possessing the requisite powers could hardly be found to add the supplementary authority of the civil judge—no one would furnish a rope to bind him to the stake, and the archbishop had to provide with his own sacred hands the necessary implement. The people of the country marked the spot of the reputed martyr's death by rearing over it a heap of stones, and so often as these were removed, the sullen memorial was restored by the patient and unyielding people. This was one of the marked acts which either terrify, or give impulse to a slowly approaching enemy—it had the latter effect—Knox preached soon after in the pulpit of his cathedral church, and the usual destruction attended his presence. The archbishop, who, whatever he might be in politics, was no bigot in religion, strove to compromise with the arch-reformer, admitting that there were many evils in the church which should be remedied, but that "he should do wisely to retain the old policy, which had been the work of many ages, or then put a better in its place, which his new model was far from,"—but the proffer was unnoticed. He made a last and daring effort in the committee of estates in 1560, which gave the sanction of law to the doctrines and government of the protestant faith. He there objected to his own brother, the bishop of Argyle, and to the bishop of Galloway being ad-

mitted as lords of the articles, to prepare the measure for the adoption of the house, according to the constitution of the parliament of Scotland, because they had embraced presbyterianism, and were therefore disqualified by the constitution they were about to alter: and, along with the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, gave an unavailing opposition to the measures.

Three years after this convention, he became amenable to one of its provisions, which prohibited the celebration of mass, and was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, whence he was released through the reiterated tears and intercessions of queen Mary. Royal favour still beamed on the archbishop, but it was clouded by popular hatred. In 1566, at the imprudent request of the queen, he baptized the young prince with the ceremonies of the church of Rome, and with still more imprudence, if not with a design of aiding the perpetration of deep wickedness, he was, on the 23d of September, of the same year, personally re-invested by the queen's signature, in the consistorial jurisdiction, of which the clergy in general had been deprived by the legislature. Whitaker, with the purposes of a special pleader before him, maintains this not to have been a revival of the jurisdiction, but the special gift of an authority which had not been discontinued. Not to argue on the improbability, that a jurisdiction belonging to the body of right, should be bestowed on one particular member by favour, the act of parliament which transfers to the commissaries the consistorial authority of the church, is as plain as a Scottish act usually is. The dangerous and invidious jurisdiction thus bestowed, was used on one great occasion, and history has preserved no other instance of its application: he granted a commission to judges, who severed the inconvenient bonds betwixt earl Bothwell and his wife, which interfered in some respects with the formality of a marriage with the queen, and this act, coupled with the circumstance that the archbishop was one of those who prepared the account of the murder of Darnley, so hastily transmitted to the French court, originated in the minds of his enemies suspicions of deep guilt, the justice of which we do not pretend to judge.

The fidelity of the archbishop towards the queen, however much party spirit may account for it on ambitious grounds, is, by a charitable interpretation, a pleasing part of his character. He was the heart and head of the party which associated for her cause, during her confinement in Lochleven. He aided her escape, and boldly urged on the battle, so unfortunate to the queen, which followed. He now bid a perpetual adieu to the state and pomp he had so long sustained, and seems to have for more than a year wandered through the country in search of a roof to protect him. On the capture of Dunbarton castle in 1571, the governor of which had bestowed on him temporary protection, he was tried on an accusation of four several acts of treason. First, "That he knew, and was participand or accomplice in the murdering of king Henry, the queen's husband. 2d, That he conspired against the king's person at the murdering of the first regent, intending to have surprised the castle of Stirling, and to have been master thereof at his pleasure. 3d, That he knew, or was participand in the murder of James, earl of Murray, the late regent. 4th, That he lay in wait at the wood of Calendar, for the slaughter of Matthew, earl of Lennox, the present regent." With a candour which ought to weigh much with the world, in the consideration of the other atrocities of which he has been accused, he confessed with contrition a participation in the third crime laid to his charge: much confusion and mystery attend the accounts of this trial which have reached our time, but it would appear that some difficulties, either in form or evidence attending the proof of the crimes laid to his charge, prompted recourse to a fic-

tion convenient on such occasions, and disgraceful to the law in which it found a place—an act of forefauire *in absence* had been passed against the archbishop in the first parliament of regent Murray, and in terms of that act he was hanged on the common gibbet of Stirling, in his pontifical robes, on the 5th April, 1571. The law of that period, like a weapon of war, was used by party against party, and was a protection to none but those who could wield it, a terror to none but those against whom some powerful adversary could direct it; and hence even those punishments, which, as abstract rewards of guilt, might be looked on as equitable, became unjust—because they were the offspring of malignity, and not dealt for the prevention of farther crimes. The archbishop had committed the crime of religious intolerance, which is a crime under whatever form it appears, however casuists may vindicate it by the arguments which may be used in vindication of any crime whatever—prejudice and conviction of the mind—and a crime which mankind may be said never to forgive or forget, but to treasure for the indignation of future ages. Yet those crimes which are perpetrated by the assistance of the law, are not fit for receiving punishment from that instrument: public opinion, and the weight of the public voice are the restraints which men and legislatures should feel under such temptations; for the punishment of persecution, being always bestowed by the party which has been persecuted, is a repetition of the crime, and a re-opening of the wounds of party rancour. The ignominy gratuitously bestowed on the reverend head of their party and religion was not soon forgot by the adherents of the Hamiltons, and long after his haughty indomitable spirit had ceased to oppose the progress of the reformation, his name, and the memory of his fate, were bonds of union to the papists, and dreaded by the protestants. Like that of all violent partizans, the memory of Hamilton has been coloured with much blame, and with much praise. Buchanan has wasted good Latin both in prose and verse in ascribing to him all the vices of which poor human nature is susceptible —“*Archiepiscopus etiam in omnium rerum licentia suis cupiditatibus obsequabatur;*”—nor does he hesitate to charge him with accession to two deliberate murders, from the punishment consequent on one of which, his influence protected the principal perpetrator, the father of his mistress. His incontinence is a favourite theme of his traducers, and circumstances have, to a considerable extent, justified the accusation.

His open and received mistress was a female of the name of Semple, whom his defenders maintain he had married early in life, and before he had entered into holy orders; but the proof is insufficient to meet the contrary presumptions. An article of the treaty of Perth has been discovered, restoring the son of the archbishop to the possessions of his father, forfeited through treason. It appoints “that the heirs and successors of persons forfeited, properly comprehended under this pacification, and now departed this life, shall be restored, and made lawful to enter by brieves to their lands and possessions, notwithstanding of the forfeitures laid against their fathers or predecessors, and as gift they had died at our sovereign Lord’s faith and peace, and especially of John, archbishop of St Andrews,” &c. The circumstance is rather unintelligible; if the son was in law illegitimate, the restoration could not without legitimation admit his suing forth a brief of service to his father, and the circumstance of the father having been a priest, was sufficient to establish the illegitimacy, whether a marriage had taken place before his advancement to the priesthood or not. It is impossible to calculate the exact extent to which Buchanan will utter a deliberate falsehood on such matters as came under his own observation; but believing him to speak truth, we might quote a passage which would settle the matter, by showing the

female in question to have been the wife of another man, while she was mistress to the archbishop. "But supposing," says M'Kenzie prudently, "that the bishop had made this slip in his youth, it is not a sufficient ground to stain the whole course of his after life with."

* * * The memoir of David Fordyce, which has been omitted at its proper place, will be found in the appendix.

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